

THE
INDIAN NATION BUILDERS

PART II

SIXTH EDITION

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TO
OUR COUNTRYMEN

THE CAMBRIDGE
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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

In bringing out the second part of the Indian Nation Builders, the publishers desire to express their gratitude to the reading public for the reception they have accorded to the first part. In appreciation of the encouragement received, considerable improvements have been made. The book is bound in full calico and the size of the book has been considerably increased devoting a large number of pages to the lives and speeches of each illustrious son of India who adorns the pages of this volume. In consequence the price of the book has been raised a little to meet the necessary improvements.

It is unnecessary to say that the inclusion or exclusion of any patriotic Indian from the two parts now before the public, conveys no suggestion as to their relative worth. The series is not complete and it is difficult to say who will be included and who not in the galaxy of Indian heroes, which they desire to portray.

The publishers desire in conclusion to thank the many friends who have had a willing hand in the making of this book.

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Dr. Dadhabai Naoroji

DADABHAI NAOROJI

It was on the 4th of September, 1825, in the City of Bombay that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji saw the light of day. His ancestors had been priests for some six centuries and Mr. Naoroji was the first member of his family to have diverted his attention from priesthood to public life. He had the misfortune to lose his father at the very early age of four and the task of bringing up young 'Dady'—as he was fondly called by his mother—devolved upon that lady. Fortunately for India, Mrs. Naoroji was a woman of strong common sense and she gave her son the best education then available in Bombay. In the course of an autobiographical sketch, contributed in 1904, to the well-known London Weekly—*M.A.P.* ("Mainly About People")—this is what Mr. Naoroji wrote about his mother :—

"There is one who, if she comes last in this narrative, has ever been first of all—my mother. Widowed when I, her only child, was an infant, she voluntarily remained a widow, wrapped up in me, her everything in this world. She worked for her child, helped by a brother. Although illiterate and although all love for me, she was a wise mother. She kept a firm hand upon me and saved me from the evil influences of my

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surroundings. She was the wise counsellor of the neighbourhood. She helped me with all her heart in my work for female education and other social reforms against the prejudices of the day. SHE MADE ME WHAT I AM."

Education in those days was entirely free in Bombay and this was fortunate for young Naoroji, as his mother was too poor to pay for her son's education. "The incident has made me," says Mr. Naoroji, in the sketch referred to above, "an ardent advocate of free education and of the principle that every child should have the opportunity of receiving all the education it is capable of assimilating, whether it is born poor or with a silver spoon in its mouth." After a course of studies at a school conducted under the auspices of the Government, young Naoroji entered as a scholar in the then recently started Elphinstone Institution—which perpetuates the name and fame of Governor Elphinstone of Bombay, one of the greatest Anglo-Indian administrators of the nineteenth century—and here he proved himself to be such an intelligent and painstaking lad, that he always managed to carry away most of the prizes and exhibitions awarded to successful students; so much so that he came to be looked upon as the "exhibition boy" of the school. A lady visitor to the school, one Mrs. Poston, in her book called *Western India*, gives an interesting sketch of young Naoroji, who most favourably impressed her. She writes of the little Parsee lad who "with an overhanging forehead and small sparkling eyes peculiarly attracted

attention." "The moment a question was proposed to the class, he quickly took a step before the rest, contracted his brows in deep and anxious thought and with parted lips and fingers eagerly uplifted towards the master, rapidly worked his problem and blurted out the solution with a startling haste. The little fellow seemed wholly animated with a desire of excelling and his mental capabilities promised him a rich reward." Mr. Naoroji himself refers to the above incident in his autobiographical sketch as follows :—

"I remember at one of the school examinations, a fellow-pupil, having learned the ready reckoner by heart carried off the prize I had expected. But at the distribution of prizes, when questions outside the book were asked, he faltered and broke down. I seized the opportunity, rushed out of the ranks and answered. Then and there an English gentleman, among the company gave me a prize and Mrs. Poston, the lady traveller, who was also present, has made a special note of the incident in her book, *Western India*."

Such was the "little fellow" at school, and who can say that the promise of childhood has not, in his case, been more than amply redeemed by the achievements of youth and old age?

By 1845, at the age of twenty, Mr. Naoroji had come to be recognised as the most brilliant scholar of the day in the capital of Western India and Sir Erskine Perry, the then Chief Justice and President of the Board of Education, who was withal a great friend of the people, was so much struck with the youth's intelligence, versa-

tility and strength of character that he proposed to bear half the cost of the expenses for his being sent to England, to be called to the bar, the other half of the expenditure to be defrayed by Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhai, the first Indian baronet, and others. It was all well nigh settled, when it suddenly fell through, on account of Sir Jamsetjee's fears that young Naoroji might forsake in England the faith of his forefathers, for that of the people amongst whom his lot would be cast. The ambitions of the young man seemed dashed to the ground on account of the adverse decision of Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhai, but Sir Erskine—years later, while a member of the India Council—told Mr. Naoroji, in the course of a conversation, that it was as well his proposal had not been accepted as he was sure that Mr. Naoroji's life, as it was, had made far greater public usefulness than if he had become a lawyer. It being thus settled that Mr. Naoroji was not to be sent to England, he now cast about for a suitable employment, as the pecuniary condition of his family was none of the best. He had not long to wait, for he was soon after appointed Head Assistant Master of his School, and on the occasion of the prize distribution was awarded by the Principal the gold medal for proficiency in Mathematics. In 1854, in recognition of his services rendered as Assistant Master he was, on the death of the European Professor of Mathematics and Physics, appointed in his place, being the first Indian who was honoured with such a distinction. It goes without saying that Mr. Naoroji fully justified his appointment.

“The greatest event of my early career,” says Mr. Naoroji in his sketch in the *M.A.P.*, “was my appointment as Professor of Mathematics and natural Philosophy at my old, old *alma mater*—Elphinstone College—as I was the first Professor in India with the title of Elphinstone Professor. To me it is the dearest title and honour above all honours. It is my delight and many a school-fellow and pupil call me ‘Dadabhai Professor’ to this day.”

During all these years, however, from 1845 to 1853 (when he left for England), Mr. Naoroji's activities were not confined merely to the work of teaching his classes. On the contrary, they covered a range the mere enumeration of which would require considerable space. To refer to the most prominent of these, it was due to Mr. Naoroji that Bombay owed her first school for girls, which was opened in the teeth of the opposition of the prominent members of the Indian community. The girls' school, however, was by no means a sufficient outlet for the super-abundant energy and enthusiasm of the young professor, which, therefore, were diverted into many other useful channels. He was instrumental in founding, organizing and placing on a sound basis many a social, educational, literary and even religious institution, chief among which were the Literary and Scientific Society, the Bombay Association, the Framjee Cowasjee Institute, the Iranee Fund, the Parsee Gymnasium, the Widow Re-marriage Association, and last but not least the Victoria and Albert Museum. This is, by no means, a complete

list of the institutions and associations promoted by Mr. Naoroji, but it is sufficiently calculated to give the reader a clear idea of Mr. Naoroji's wide and varied range of activities. "These years," says Mr. Naoroji, "were full of all sorts of reforms—social, educational, political and religious."

"Ah, those years!" he sighs after in his autobiographical recollections in the *M.A.P.* Female education, free association of women with men at public, social and other gatherings, infant schools, students' literary and scientific societies, societies for the diffusion of useful knowledge in the vernacular, Parsi reform, abolition of child marriages, re-marriage of widows among Hindus, and Parsi religious reform societies, were some of the problems tackled, movements set on foot and institutions inaugurated by a band of young men fresh from College, helped in some matters by the elders, and aided by the moral support and encouragement of such men as Sir Erskine Perry, Professor Patton and others. Such were the first fruits of the English education given at the Elphinstone College.

But as if even these and many other institutions, which he originated and for which he actively laboured, were not sufficient for the scope of his unbounded enthusiasm and untiring energy, he started in 1851 a Gujarati Weekly, *Rast-Gofar* (Truth-teller)—as the organ of the advanced and progressive party—to further social, religious and educational reforms in the Indian community. This paper Mr. Naoroji edited for two

years with rare devotion and self-sacrifice, during which time it came to be placed on a sound financial footing. Later, it passed into other hands and has now for a long time been conducted on lines which would hardly meet with the approval of its founder and first editor. In short, the whole of the ten years between his entering the world as a youth of twenty and his leaving for England as a young man of thirty, were devoted to hard and incessant work—educational, social, literary, scientific and even religious—in the interest of his country and his countrymen, and if to-day the vernacular press of Bombay is the best conducted and most successful in the country, if to-day female education is more advanced in Bombay than even in Calcutta or Madras, if to-day there is a richer literature in Gujarati than in any other Indian vernacular (except perhaps, in Bengali) if to-day social reform and progress have made greater strides in the Western Presidency than in the rest of India, it is greatly due to the initiation, devotion and self-sacrificing labours and youthful energies of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. “By this time,” says Mr. Naoroji, “the thought developed itself in my mind that—as my education and all the benefits arising therefrom came from the people, I must return to them the best I had in me and must devote myself to the service of the people.” While this noble, altruistic thought was developing itself in Mr. Naoroji’s mind he lighted upon Clerkson’s work on *The Slave Trade* and the life of Howard, the philanthropist. This settled all doubts. “The die was cast” and “the desire of my

life," says Mr. Naoroji, "was to serve the people as opportunity permitted."

In 1855 Messrs. Cama & Co. of Bombay wanted to establish a branch of their firm in England and in casting about for a suitable representative they naturally thought of the brilliant youth who, as a Professor of Physics and Mathematics, no less than by his other multifarious activities, had come to be regarded as the coming man in Western India. Though Mr. Naoroji had not until then acquired any experience of the business of banking, trade and commerce, such as the confidence reposed in his wisdom, intelligence and capacity for work by Messrs. Cama & Co., that they immediately took Mr. Naoroji as a partner in the firm, and thus began his long connection with England which lasted for over half a century. Once on the soil of England, Mr. Naoroji—whose motto throughout life has been "Rest elsewhere" set about the task of educating the British people as to their grave and onerous responsibilities in connection with India. He soon started the London India Society, which, in the course of nearly fifty years' existence, has had to experience many a reverse in its fortunes, but which, thanks to the assiduous efforts and zeal of its founder, has managed, to keep its head above water and has been again pretty active during the last few years, under the presidency of its original founder. Not content, however, with the India Society Mr. Naoroji conceived and carried out the organization of a larger association—which was to differ from that

Society in so far that it was to admit not only Indians but such Anglo-Indians as well, as were interested in the welfare of India. This resulted in the foundation of the well-known East India Association in 1877. In the early years of its existence the Association did most excellent work in the way of disseminating sound and healthy views on Indian problems, and the early issues of its *Journal* contain a wealth of material on Indian politics and economics—much of it contributed by Mr. Naoroji himself which might well be reprinted by some enterprising publisher. These two institutions—the Society and the Association—did yeoman service in the cause of popularising Indian questions, the value of which can hardly be over-estimated. But Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, while engaged in the business of the firm and the control of the two institutions he had founded, was no less active in other directions. He became connected with many a useful English institution, literary and scientific bodies; was appointed a Professor of Gujarati in the University College, London, and a member of its Senate; founded, being a staunch mason, a lodge, 'The Marquis of Dalhousie'; was elected a Director of an Insurance Company, corresponded with various Secretaries of State for India in regard to many a pressing Indian problem, wrote many a letter to the newspapers throwing light on controversial subjects and placing before the British public the Indian view of the question, travelled about and addressed numerous meetings on Indian wrongs and grievances; and read many a paper before learned Societies and Associations

correcting popular European fallacies as to the inherent inferiority of the Asiatic races as compared with the European. All this, however, is not even a bare *resume* of the vast and varied activities of Mr. Naoroji, and can hardly convey to our readers an idea of the great and useful work done by this great Indian patriot to advance the cause—the ever dear cause of India—of his mother country.

Thus more than a dozen years sped on their course but as ill-luck would have it, just then Mr. Naoroji's firm came to grief. Mr. Naoroji had during his stay in England established a reputation for absolute honesty and integrity as a merchant, but he met with some sad reverses in attempting to extricate a mercantile friend who had got into difficulties, with the result that his own firm felt compelled to stop payment. The losses amounted to three lakhs of rupees, but such has ever been Mr. Naoroji's reputation for straightforwardness in all dealings and business relations, that the creditors of the firm deeply sympathised with him in his embarrassments, extended to him every consideration and actually engaged his services to help them in the liquidation. With the aid of some loans from friends, Mr. Naoroji, though struggling hard with difficulties, managed to steer clear of his financial troubles and returned to Bombay in 1869, after having diligently, strenuously and zealously worked in England, on behalf of India, for nearly a decade and a half. A grand demonstration was got up by the citizens of his native city in his honour, mainly at the

instance of the late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, who had shortly before returned to India after having been called to the bar. At a large and representative meeting of all classes of the heterogeneous population of Bombay, Mr. Naoroji was presented with an address and a purse of Rs. 30,000—which had been voted to him—and a portion of the fund raised was set aside for his portrait being taken. By the end of 1897 this sum which had been invested in Government securities, had accumulated with interest to Rs. 8,000. The money was utilised in getting a portrait of Mr. Naoroji, painted by a young Parsi artist who had studied his art in the capitals of Europe. This portrait was unveiled by the late Mr. Justice Ranade in the hall of the Framjee Cowasjee Institute, Bombay, on the 24th of November 1900. It need hardly be said that the whole of the Rs. 30,000 presented by his fellow-citizens Mr. Naoroji spent on useful public objects and did not utilise a pie out of it for his own requirements.

On his return to England Mr. Naoroji gave evidence in 1873 before the Parliamentary Committee on Indian Finance, popularly known as the Fawcett Committee, from the fact of the late Mr. Fawcett, the distinguished economist, having taken a prominent part in the appointment and the business of the Committee. It was in the course of his evidence before this Committee that Mr. Naoroji formulated the celebrated theory about the poverty of India, with which his name has been so closely associated during the last half a century. It was to the effect that the average income in

British India was Rs. 20 per head, whereas the incidence of taxation was no less than Rs. 3 per head. The enunciation of such a doctrine led to a better controversy with Anglo-Indian 'experts,' and Mr. Naoroji wrote several papers in support of his contention. It was not however until 1882 that Mr. Naoroji had the satisfaction of finding his views practically accepted by the Government of India when Sir Evelyn Baring (now Lord Cromer), the finance minister in Lord Ripon's administration, announced as a result of his calculation that the average income of a British Indian did not exceed Rs. 27 a year.

A year later, i.e., in 1874, Mr. Naoroji was selected by the then Gaekwar of Baroda—Mulhar Rao, who was deposed not long afterwards—as his Dewan. As might well be imagined, the state of affairs at Baroda was at that period in a most hopeless muddle. An eccentric ruler, an imperious Resident—who wanted to have his own way in all matters—an inefficient executive, a grossly corrupt judiciary and a most oppressive police, formed at that time the *tout ensemble* of the Baroda administration, and it was a regular herculean task—this cleansing of the Augean stable—that Mr. Naoroji was called upon to undertake. The appointment was approved of by Lord Northbrook and the new Dewan addressed himself to the work before him with his characteristic spirit of thoroughness, zeal and assiduity. During the short time that he served in Baroda, he succeeded in purging the administration of justice of that gross corruption for which it

had long achieved an unenvied notoriety and completely reformed and reorganised that important department of the State. Nor was his work less valuable in other departments, but he did not stay to see them through and the fruits of his labours were afterwards reaped by his successor in office the late Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao. Mr. Naoroji's wholesale reforms on lines of progress roused bitter opposition and interested parties cast aspersions on his administration. Mr. Naoroji replied at length to the statements in the Baroda blue books and Lord Northbrook was so thoroughly satisfied with his defence that he removed the Resident from Baroda—an even too rare occurrence forsooth, and the first Parsee Dewan of an important Native State had the satisfaction of seeing his administration vindicated both by the Indian Government and the India Office.

During a temporary residence in Bombay in 1872, Mr. Naoroji had led an agitation for the reform of the Bombay Corporation. On his return from Baroda in 1875, he entered the Corporation and served in it for about a couple of years. During the years of Lord Lytton's administration, Mr. Naoroji was so down-cast and depressed on account of the poet Viceroy's repressive and retrogressive acts and measures, that he practically retired into private life, and it was not until the beginning of Lord Ripon's ever memorable and righteous administration that he was induced to resume his place in public life. He again went into the Corporation in 1881 and continued as a member till

1881. It was during this period that he detected and corrected an error in the accounts of the Corporation, under which it would have sustained a loss of about ten lakhs of rupees. In August, 1885, Lord Reay, a ruler of popular sympathies, appointed Mr. Naoroji as an additional member of his Council and the announcement of the appointment was hailed by the whole Indian press with a chorus of approval. Towards the end of the same year, Mr. Naoroji took a prominent part in the deliberations of the first session of the Indian National Congress held in Bombay under the presidency of the late lamented Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee.

Early in 1886 Mr. Naoroji left for England, determined to contest an English Constituency and it was on the 18th of June, 1886, that the cable flashed the news that the Indian patriot had been adopted as a candidate by the Holborn Liberal Association as a "fit and proper person to represent the Liberals of the borough in Parliament." The next day the new candidate issued his address to the electors. Unfortunately for India, the issue in that year's contest mainly turned upon the question of Irish Home Rule and it was a foregone conclusion that the Liberals would lose the day. Though Mr. Naoroji was thus defeated at the polls, still the fact of his having got no less than 1950 votes, was rightly regarded as a great moral victory for India. The matter attracted considerable attention at the time, so much so that the late Lord Salisbury noticed the incident in an important speech. It had been said by Lord Beaconsfield on a memorable

occasion that his lieutenant, Lord Salisbury, was not in the habit of measuring his words. True to this description, Lord Salisbury referred to Mr. Naoroji in his speech as a "black man." This observation created a profound sensation in the British Isles and in India. Not only did the Liberal press in the United Kingdom and the Indian press out there fulminate and thunder against the noble Marquis, but aroused so much public interest that Mr. Gladstone in the course of a speech severely took Lord Salisbury to task for his pettymindedness and indiscretion. Mr. Gladstone declared that, as a matter of fact, Mr. Naoroji was fairer than Lord Salisbury and the Liberal leader strongly condemned and sternly reproved the conduct of the Conservative leader. Lord Salisbury subsequently offered a 'veiled' apology. Mr. Naoroji returned to India towards the end of 1886 and was elected President of the second session of the Congress in Calcutta. Early in 1887 after giving his evidence before the Public Service Commission in Bombay, he returned to England to work with redoubled energy and with an ardour which a youth might well envy, to seek again the suffrages of a parliamentary constituency. After five years unremitting toil and unsparing work he was duly elected in 1892 a member of the House of Commons for Central Finsbury. The enthusiasm which was roused in this country at the announcement of his election is still fresh in the minds of the people, while those who, like the present writer, happened to be in England at the time and who had watched with the keenest interest all the

stages of the struggle are not likely to forget the incidents of that memorable contest in which India was so deeply interested.

The maiden speech of Mr. Naoroji was favourably received by the House. As a member of the House of Commons he worked zealously and strenuously to advance the cause of India. But the parliamentary career of Mr. Naoroji covered only three years, as the Conservatives again came into power in 1895. Short though, however, the period of his parliamentary activity was, it was brimful of good work done for the land of his birth. He attempted to interest members of Parliament in Indian affairs, and he was so far successful in his efforts that in 1893 he induced Mr. Herbert Paul to move his famous resolution about simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service. The resolution was opposed by Mr. Russell, Under-Secretary, but was carried by a defeat of the Government. It was thereupon referred by the late Lord Kimberly to the Government of India, which of course, protested against any such scheme being carried out, and the whole matter was ultimately burked by Sir Henry Fowler, who had succeeded Lord Kimberly as the Secretary of State for India. With the aid of his valued colleagues, Sir William Wedderburn and the late Mr. W. S. Caine, Mr. Naoroji organized the Indian Parliamentary Committee, which rendered valuable and substantial service to this country. The most important result of Mr. Naoroji's parliamentary labour, however, was the appointment of the Royal Commission on

Indian Expenditure in 1895 and Mr. Naoroji himself was the first Indian to be appointed to a Royal Commission, as a "trustworthy and well-beloved cousin" of the British sovereign. He and his two colleagues referred to above represented the Congress party on the Commission and the nine statements which he submitted to the Commission as well as the Minority Report are monuments alike of his thorough grasp and exceptionally wide knowledge of the complicated problems of Indian politics and economics, of his capacity for lucid exposition, and above all of his matchless patriotism.

Towards the end of 1893 Mr. Naoroji came out to India—as the first Indian Member of the House of Commons—to preside over the ninth session of the Congress held at Lahore. His journey from Bombay to Lahore was a regular triumphal progress, he being the recipient of a right royal welcome at every station where the train stopped. On his return journey the citizens of Allahabad did themselves the honour of presenting him with an address of welcome. At Lahore the enthusiasm of the Panjabees was at white heat. They would not allow the horses to draw Mr. Naoroji's carriage, but bands of earnest young men themselves dragged it on to the President's camp taking the place of the horses. Accounts of these incidents wired from India filled the columns of the British newspapers and that great friend of India—the late Sir William Hunter—summed up his views on the situation in one of his notable articles in the *Times* on "Indian Affairs," in the following brilliant passage:—

"The enthusiasm with which the President of this year's Congress has been received in India was very striking. Mr. Naoroji is not only the first Indian gentleman who has ever been elected to Parliament; he is also an example of an early career of high promise being overshadowed by long frustrations in middle life and realized after unwearied perseverance, in advanced age. The brilliant young student and Professor of Elphinstone College who left Bombay to seek high fortunes in England in 1855 was received back last month bowed with the weight of sixty-eight years and of a great family sorrow. He had a welcome on landing, such as has only on one occasion been rivalled even by a Viceregal ovation. His reception at Lahore has, perhaps, not been surpassed since the days of Ranjit Singh. It is for him and his colleagues to direct wisely the new influence which the Congress party has acquired in the House of Commons and in the Indian Legislative Councils."

The "great family sorrow" referred to was the then recent death of Mr. Naoroji's only son, who was a successful medical practitioner.

After the Liberal *debacle* of 1895, Mr. Naoroji came out of Parliament, but he remained as devoted as ever to his fatherland. In 1899, he submitted two instructive statements to the Fowler Currency Committee, which have a permanent value in Indian political literature. In 1901, he brought together in a handy volume a selection from his papers essays, contributions to periodicals, statements before Commissions

and Committees and speeches—all on the question of Indian poverty—under the significant title of *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*. This book sums up the thoughts and convictions of a life-time and the life-work of half a century and should be carefully read by every educated Indian as the greatest legacy of the greatest Indian political leader. And during all these years Mr. Naoroji was persistently carrying on a platform campaign, constantly addressing meetings on Indian questions. At the general election in 1905 he was again duly adopted the Liberal, Radical and Labour candidate for North Lambeth and would have succeeded in winning a seat in the House of Commons but for an unfortunate three-cornered fight in the constituency, due to an unhappy split in the Liberal camp itself.

In proposing, at a meeting of the Congress Reception Committee held at Calcutta in 1906, the election of a President for the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress, Mr. Lalmohun Ghose rightly remarked that it was their *duty* to choose Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and to confer upon him "the signal mark of honour by electing him for the third time President of the Congress," to which he was pre-eminently entitled by reason of his "unique services to the country."

Mr. Naoroji's honouring the Presidential Chair of the Indian National Congress for the third time the Congress Sessions of 1906 held at Calcutta in accordance with the unanimous wishes of the people of India, is in fact one of the greatest events in the history of the Indian National Congress. Having in view the present

political crisis in India it is needless to say that the Congress could not have chosen a better leader to occupy such a responsible position to carve out for them the right path to tread upon in the political and economic field.

It is impossible to chronicle in detail the ways and means adopted by his friends and well-wishers in England and India on this occasion in honouring the Grand Old Man from his start to return. Many were the farewell dinners that were given by his friends and well-wishers of India and Members of Parliament on the eve of his departure from England to India.

Mr. Dadabhai, the President-designate, started from England by P. & O. Express on the 29th November, 1906, with all the good wishes and God-speed of his friends, and arrived at the Appollo Bhunder, Bombay, on the afternoon of the 14th December, 1906. Cheering crowds thronged the landing stage and the streets on the way to the Malabar Hill, and in fact the whole city was stirred to its inmost depths. The demonstration was the most magnificent ever witnessed.

Mr. Naoroji was taken in a motor-car to the Malabar Hill, the road being lined with crowds representing all communities of people in India and the street on the way to the Malabar Hill being very gaily decorated with festoons and tapestries of various colours. The procession halted 50 times for the garlanding of Mr. Naoroji quite consistent with the oriental ceremonial of welcoming great men. It is significant that among the garlands there were strings of real pearls which were showered upon the veteran leader.

At Calcutta the welcome accorded to Mr. Naoroji is something unique and unparalleled in the History of the World. The procession in Calcutta was through the lavishly decorated streets of the native town to the residence of the Maharajah of Darbangha where he stayed.

In his presidential address which is in fact the outcome of his long experience in the political world and which is replete with mature cogitations, he has with characteristic emphasis clearly discussed all the burning questions of the day. His two-fold division of the work of the Congress—his instilling into our mind the noble idea that we have every claim to be British citizens, not only by the birth-right but by pledged right as well—his summary of Indian's right—a share in the administration of the Government, touching by the way the oft-mooted question of the simultaneous examinations—the claim of the Indians for a fair representation in the Parliament—just financial relation—his advocating that agitation is the most effective weapon for bringing about the redress of our grievances—his declaration that *Swaraj* is the goal that all Indians should try to reach—his pointing out with characteristic significance that Hindus and Mahomedans are the two eyes of mother India and his exhortations to the people of India to work in the field of politics with co-operation and union—all these and many more are still ringing in our ears—really a piece of good fortune for India in having had Mr. Dadabhai on the Presidential Chair of the Indian National Congress for a third time.

On the eve of Mr. Dadabhai's departure from India, the citizens of Bombay exhibited their extreme love and affection for him by giving him a public farewell dinner at the Ripon Club and a social gathering at the Town Hall. Mr. Dadabhai left India on the 19th January, 1907, and arrived in London on Sunday, 3rd February, 1907.

The Calcutta Sessions of the Indian National Congress in 1906, with its exciting controversies, told heavily upon the health of the man on whose head had rolled the weight of two and eighty years. 'The same news of his illness was received in India with melancholy forebodings, but, thank God, he survived that illness and was spared a little longer to live in our midst not probably to guide us actively in our political deliberations but to be an encouraging presence. On the advice of his doctors, he was removed from England to the more congenial climate of his own native land.

Far from the storm and stress of political arena, the great patriot was enjoying his well earned rest in his native village of Varsova. The village had become a veritable place of pilgrimage. Leaders belonging to diverse schools of political thought paid homage to him and took his sage advice as to how to meet the changed times they were facing. To the last day of his life Dadabhai was taking a keen and lively interest in his country's affairs and did not lose his faith in the high destiny awaiting her. At last the great call which spares not even the noblest, beckoned the great man to take leave of his earthly work and the great patriot passed.

away in 1917 bemoaned by the entire Indian continent. It is said that great men never die and though the great 'Dada' is not visible to us, he lives with us and amongst us watching with parental blessings the great work for which he dedicated his life while in flesh.

Such is the briefest outline of the patriot's life who has left an enduring memory of the noblest example of self-sacrifice.

It will not be out of place to remark before bringing this short sketch to a close, that Mr. Naoroji has secured for himself a place in a niche in History, as the first Indian to scale the wall of St. Stephen's and gain a seat in the mother of Parliaments. Born of the people, trusted by the people, he worked incessantly for the people of his native land and it is gratifying to find his views grow and establish themselves among a considerable section of his educated countrymen. "The seeds sown in the days of my youth have brought on," said—Mr. Naoroji, "abundant harvest in the love and esteem of my fellow-countrymen. Is it vanity that I should take a great pleasure in being hailed as the Grand Old Man of India? No; that title which speaks volumes for the warm, grateful and generous hearts of my countrymen is to me—whether I deserve it or not—the highest reward of my life."

MAIDEN SPEECH IN THE PARLIAMENT

9th August, 1892

It may be considered rather rash and unwise on my part to stand before this House so immediately after my admission here; and my only excuse is that I am under a certain necessity to do so. My election for an English Constituency is a unique event. For the first time during more than a century of settled British rule, an Indian is admitted into the House as a Member for an English Constituency. That, as I have said, is a unique event in the History of India, and, I may also venture to say, in the History of the British Empire. I desire to say a few words in analysis of this great and wonderful phenomenon. The spirit of the British rule, the instinct of British justice and generosity, from the very commencement, when they seriously took the matter of Indian policy into their hands, about the beginning of this century, decided that India was to be governed on the line of British freedom and justice. Steps were taken without any hesitation to introduce Western education, civilisation, and political institutions in that country; and the result was that, aided by a noble and grand language in which the youth of that country began to be educated, a great movement of

political life—I may say new life—was infused into that country which had been decaying for centuries. The British rulers of the country endowed it with all their own most important privileges. A few days ago, Sir, you demanded from the throne the privileges which belong to the people, including freedom of speech, for which they fought and shed their blood. That freedom of speech you have given to us, and it enables Indians to stand before you and represent in clear and open language any desire they have felt. By conferring those privileges you have prepared for this final result of an Indian standing before you in this House becoming a Member of the great Imperial Parliament of the British Empire, and being able to express his views openly and fearlessly before you. The glory and credit of this great event—by which India is thrilled from one end to the other—of the new life, the joy, the ecstasy of India at the present moment, are all your own; it is the spirit of British institutions and the love of justice and freedom in British instincts which has produced this extraordinary result, and I stand here in the name of India to thank the British people that they have made it at all possible for an Indian to occupy this position, and to speak freely in the English language of any grievance which India may be suffering under, with the conviction that though he stands alone, with only one vote, whenever he is able to bring forward any aspiration and is supported by just and proper reasons, he will find a large number of other members from both sides of the House ready to support him and

give him the justice he asks. This is the conviction which permeates the whole thinking and educated classes of India. It is that conviction that enables us to work on, day after day, without dismay, for the removal of a grievance. The question now being discussed before the House will come up from time to time in practical shape, and I shall then be able to express my humble views upon them as a representative of the English Constituency of Central Finsbury. I do not intend to enter into them now. Central Finsbury has earned the everlasting gratitude of the millions of India, and has made itself famous in the History of the British Empire by electing an Indian to represent it. Its name will never be forgotten by India. This event has strengthened the British power and the loyalty and attachment of India to it ten times more than the sending out of one hundred thousand or two hundred thousand European soldiers would have done. The moral force to which the right honourable gentleman, the member for Midlothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), referred, is the golden link by which India is held by the British power. So long as India is satisfied with the justice and honour of Britain, so long will her Indian Empire last, and I have not the least doubt that, though our progress may be slow and we may at times meet with disappointments, if we persevere, whatever justice we ask in reason we shall get. I thank you, Sir, for allowing me to say these few words and the House for so indulgently listening to me, and I hope that the connection between England and India—which forms

five-sixths of the British Empire—may continue long with benefit to both countries. There will be certain Indian questions, principally of administration, which I shall have to lay before the House, and I am quite sure that when they are brought forward they will be fairly considered, and, if reasonable, amended to our satisfaction.

* MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

The following is the letter addressed by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji to Mr. Gokhale, the President of the Indian National Congress, held at Benares in 1905.

22, Kennington Road, London, S.E.,

November 26, 1905.

My dear Gokhale,—I should have much liked to be present at the twenty-first Congress. It is the last before coming of age, when it is time to look back over the past and consider the future.

Looking back fifty-two years to the year 1853, when the first three political associations had their birth—viz., the British Indian Association of Bengal, the Madras Association and the Bombay Association—we see how limited our political ideas and aspirations of that time were. The extent and causes of the increasing poverty of India, we had hardly any clear conception of, nor had we fully realised our rights and duties as free British citizens. Like all beginnings this was small, but it was sound and healthy in the circumstances and knowledge of the time. I can say this, as I was present at the inauguration of the Bombay

Association, and have taken part in it and its subsequent work.

Of those three, the British Indian Association has preserved its existence till to-day, doing much good work. The Bombay Association, after several years of good work, came to a close, but was revived and after some years was succeeded by the present active Bombay Presidency Association. I think the Madras Association had also similar chequered career, and is now represented by the present active Madras Mahajana Sabha. There were some Provincial Associations also formed in time, as the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and others. Now what was the result in brief of all this our first awakening and work? The work done by these Associations and the seeds sown by them during thirty-two years till 1885, produced their fruit in a larger conception of our political condition and knowledge, and what was of still greater importance—a closer union among all classes, creeds, and races of the whole country—results of which at our political birth in 1853 there was not much clear idea or anticipation. And, further, the development of the political ideas and forces carried with it an impetus and larger awakening of the social ideas and forces, and they have gone on working side by side as they ought, each influencing the other.

Coming to later times, the work done during the thirty-two years, from 1853 to 1885, gave birth to our Indian National Congress as its best and natural fruit, leaving a great legacy of union and political pro-

gress, and fairly earning a claim to gratitude from the succeeding generations. Nearly all those who began the work in 1843 have, I think, passed away, leaving the duty of further work on the rising generation of the day.

How that generation from 1885 up to this time has done its work has been before us year after year in our national gatherings and their reports. But over and above the formulating and pressing for the various reforms in the defects in the existing administrative machinery, there were other far more important objects to be attained by the Congress. The first and most important was the change in the policy of the present system of government : further, on the one hand, the educating and awakening of the people of India to a knowledge of their political and civil rights and duties as true British citizens—and, on the other hand, to educate and urge upon the British people their duty to grant these rights. This double work, both in India and England, was absolutely necessary and would remain so necessary to the end of the chapter as long as we have to claim and obtain our rights from the British people and Parliament.

This double work has gone right well so far as means and opportunities have permitted. We see in India as a result—a new India has arisen chafing under their present abject subjected, and impoverishing condition under a policy of foreign destructive despotism and aspiring to higher and pressing aims—aims of self-government like that of the Colonies. For self-govern-

ment is the only effective remedy for the drain and all its deplorable and terrible consequences, of extreme and increasing impoverishment, starvation, famines, plagues, and moral debasement and intellectual deterioration, from which India is suffering. The Colonies have prospered with self-government, and India can and will also prosper by the same means only. The British Empire must be an Empire of free and prosperous men, and not an Empire of tyrants and slaves and perishing humanity. Macaulay truly says—the worst of all tyrannies is the tyranny of a nation over a nation.

In preparing and granting this new India with its higher and most urgent aims, the Congress has fulfilled its highest mission. And we see this new awakening producing its fruit even now in the robust and straight stand all India made against Lord Curzon's University speech and against Lord Hamilton's and Lord Curzon's restrictive, reactionary and injurious measures with the view of tightening upon us the bonds of despotism and increasing the impoverishing drain from which India has been already so badly suffering. But the latest fruit of the rising public spirit is the united, vigorous action which Bengal has taken in the matter of the partition of Bengal with the sympathy of the rest of India.

Before I refer to the future, I feel, in connection with the British Committee, that I should express a word of thanks to the four Anglo-Indian gentlemen—Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. A. O. Hume, Mr. W. Martin Wood, and Sir Henry Cotton, who are still working with us in the British Committee, and who have, with no little

sacrifice and under odium, guided, inspired, and helped us from an early period of our efforts to demand and obtain our just rights. I do not forget the thanks that are due to several other Anglo-Indians and Englishmen, living and dead.

We are now on the eve of our arriving of age, and we have to make a new start forward with all the advantage of the experience and result of past political work and progress of fifty-two years. What should be our future work? The work of the Congress in India and England has developed, as I have already said, a clear and most urgent aim, *viz.*, self-government like that of the Colonies, in the form most suitable to the peculiar circumstances of India. It is now a most pressing problem.

A most serious responsibility now rests upon us as well as upon the British rulers. What are the means necessary to accomplish that aim? Like every movement, great or small, "thorough union," and men and means are necessary. Union among all is the one absolutely necessary fundamental condition. Without union all other efforts will be vain. Anyone who produces a disunion and thereby stultifies or dissipates our energies or forces cannot but be an ill-wisher of his country. With the enormous difficulties before us we cannot afford to be divided among ourselves.

We have now around us a new generation, well educated and prepared—thanks to past work—for this great task before them. Theirs is now the responsibility. Let the youth of the rising generation rally round

the Congress with that energy, enthusiasm and self-sacrifice which the vigour of youth and manhood can alone must furnish. Let them come with their fresh ideas, place them before the Congress, discuss them, abide by and undertake the burden of carrying into effect the decisions of the majority. Let those who desire to have their own way, let them work in their own way towards the same goal, and not hamper or destroy other's work. There is ample work for every one to do his best in his own best way, for the one ultimate end of our self-government. I do not despair. I think the time is not far off. The love of liberty and justice is lately reviving strongly among the English people, and with the effect of other events in the world, I think our day of emancipation is much nearer than many of us imagine, if we are true to ourselves and to our responsibilities.

But the transformation from a system of tyranny into a self-governing system in India is not a new impracticable thing. It has been partly already done. This case is one of those bright spots on the many dark pages of British Indian History. It is an event of the inspiration of hope in us yet. Queen Victoria aided and influenced Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote to promote this blessed work, and a transformation in the right direction was actually effected. Self-government was actually largely and practically commenced in Mysore. And Mysore, which was then in a miserable condition, rose in prosperity with its enjoyment of even its partial self-government. I cannot enter into details here, but refer to my letter to the Royal

Commission, in my book (pp. 373-376.) But I may here cite two remarkable utterances of these two statesmen as they point to the solution to a large extent as a commencement of this very problem of self-government. Here are Lord Salisbury's statesmanlike words (1867) :—

"The general concurrence of opinion of those who know India best is that a number of well-governed Native States are in the highest degree advantageous to the development of the political and moral condition of the people of India."

Sir Stafford Northcote said :—" There might be difficulties ; but what we had to aim at was to establish a system of Native States which might maintain themselves in a satisfactory relation."

With these pronouncements and the actual practical application of them before our eyes, in the case of Mysore to a certain extent, why should we despair of either this or some other suitable transformation being carried out as a beginning ? Here is an accomplished fact, and all the British Government has to do is to carry out in all India in the true British spirit with which Queen Victoria was actuated and the two statesmen were inspired, and a great and good work was actually done. And as an earnest of a genuine and honest desire to give self-government immediate effect should be given to the Resolution of 1893 for simultaneous examinations, though ultimately self-government will make its own arrangements for all its services. Never despair—the object is within our grasp. Depend upon the revived

British spirit of freedom that is at present passing over this country. Our time is near if we grasp it by strenuous efforts and peaceful up-rising or unceasing demand from all over the country.

For the purpose of inspiring the people with the desire of the duties and rights of British free citizens each province should furnish a band of educated men to become the missionaries of this work and to devote themselves under suitable organisation to do it by diffusing the knowledge of this great and pressing demand and of the Resolutions of the Congress. Even in England itself, the English have even to this day to do the same spade-work among the people for various reforms and their objects. The democracy is now being taught, taught its lesson and being aroused.

Side by side with work to be done in India there must also be vigorous work of propagandism in England. We cannot accomplish our object by working only in India or only in England. They are two halves of one whole and by their combination only can the whole work be done.

With regard to the work in England, every effort should be made to get more properly qualified Indian members in Parliament. Do not suppose a few members cannot do anything. Our cause is so vast and so important to England herself that its moral force alone brings us the practical sympathy and aid of many members. The Resolution for simultaneous examinations was carried by such sympathy and aid of fifty-seven Liberals and Radicals, twenty-five Irish, two

Labour and two Conservatives. We need not despair for a right and just cause. It may take some time, but it must triumph in the end. You have no idea what a moral force of a dozen or even half a dozen true and able Indians will be in the House of Commons. We shall have all that is best and noblest in the British instinct and character at our back. Liberal principles must side with us. The democracy is particularly in sympathy with us. The Irish sympathy needs no mention. It is in Parliament we have to fight our last fight and say our last word. And I am not more unhopeful with such backing.

I have been anxious for some time past about the work in England. The present workers in the British Committee are not immortal. Besides whatever help we may get from sympathising and just-minded Englishmen, we must depend mainly upon ourselves. We need a body of half a dozen at least if not a dozen, of enthusiastic and well-qualified Indians for the work of the Committee here, and of propagandism by our organ, literature and lectures, to be permanent residents in England. These may be either well educated and competent well-to-do men who can live on their own means, or the well-to-do should supply the means to enable such well qualified men to live here. Our success must depend upon our own proper men and sufficient means.

Indians must make up their minds for large sacrifices, both personal and pecuniary. In England itself we have object-lessons. Taking one instance only, of the

abolition of the Corn Laws : many men, like Bright and Cobden, worked devotedly and the League raised, if I am not mistaken, funds of two millions to fight the cause. This for one cause only. How many movements for reforms of one kind or another are now going on here with devoted men and women and large means ? Our work is of the utmost importance and of the greatest difficulty—the emancipation, freedom and prosperity of some 300,000,000 of mankind—and in proportion to the importance does it demand from us the most strenuous devotion and large sacrifices. Yes, the Japanese people, high and low, made such sacrifices and the world knows the result and is the better for it to-day. Should we fail !

Future Work in England

Owing to this work already done in England, we shall now be able to continue our work under more favourable conditions than ever. The power of the British Press was a great difficulty to us before. But now a powerful section of this Press is directing its attention to the claims of, and justice to, India. This help is of great importance to us and a powerful factor on our side, and we have to be very thankful for it. I am sorry the *Times* yet does not realise to the full extent our true condition and our just claims. It sees the India of the Anglo-Indians—not the India of the Indians. This is a misfortune and injury both to England and India. I may name some of those who are helping the just cause ; the *Daily News*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Morning*

Leader, the Star, the Daily Chronicle, Justice, the Investor's Review, the Reynold's Newspaper, and others. The help of the Press is one of the satisfactory results of the work done in England by the British Committee and the journal *India*.

India is, and must remain, like every other organ of every cause, the right arm and weapon of the Committee and Indian work in England. The Indian papers cannot reach the Press and people here. Besides, *India* is the only paper that can spread over the whole surface of India at once. All Indian papers are confined to localities. *India* has a great work to do both in England and India and must be made proportionately large and important. We cannot fight without a weapon of this kind, and the paper must be extensively distributed at Indians' cost over the length and breadth of the United Kingdom. It is by means of such an organ in the Press that we can reach the whole people and press here with whom we have to deal as well as influence in the same direction the whole of India. Of the hearty help we are now getting from the English Press, I shall give you only one instance. In the *Daily News* of a few days ago (October 18) a leader ends with this paragraph:—

"The Liberal party will do well to follow events in India more clearly than it has been accustomed to do in the past. It is pretty evident that, as a result of Lord Curzon's contemptuous treatment of Indian sentiment, the question will soon have to be faced of whether India is to be given a double dose of coercion or to be invited!

to co-operate with her British rulers in the work of self-government. And this we say is an issue which Liberalism can only ignore at its peril."

You will see what a new force the Press is now in the direction of British liberty and justice for us !

To sum up, we require on the one hand to inspire the people of India at large with the desire of attaining and enjoying their birth and pledged rights and the absolute necessity of freedom and self-government like that of the colonies for their material and moral development, progress and prosperity. Without self-government the Indians can never get rid of their present drain, and the consequent impoverishment, misery and destruction. No palliative of any kind, whatever, no mere alteration and tinkering of the mechanical machinery of a demonstration, can and will do any good at all. The drain can only be stopped by the Government, by the people themselves. To be prosperous, India must govern itself like the colonies. Here are remarkable and true words uttered by Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman only three days ago (on the 23rd) :—"Good government could never be a substitute for Government by the people themselves." Our need, therefore, is the utmost for government by the people themselves.

Self-government is the only remedy for India's woes and wrongs. For this purpose we must strengthen this Congress, our great body, representative of all India, to go on making every possible effort to accomplish this end, which is quite practicable, as I have already said, and has been already successfully carried out very far

by British rulers themselves as far back as thirty-eight years ago, in the case of Mysore.

Effort—Union—Perseverance.

On the other hand, it is as much absolutely necessary that we should have a strong Committee in England of a number of permanently residing Indians, with the powerful organ *India* helped by sympathising English people and press to carry on energetically the propaganda of our claims and to attain them. A few competent and truly patriotic and enthusiastic Indian members in Parliament will largely accelerate work there, for, as I have said, it is in Parliament that the fight is to be fought and the last word to be said.

But, above all, I repeat with my utmost emphasis, the most important and absolutely necessary fundamental condition is union and enthusiastic and self-sacrificing work among our people themselves.

I am so glad that there is to be this time the first Industrial Congress, besides the Social Congress, with the National Congress. Yes, all these forces must go on working side by side with their good influences upon each other, and from me are my most hearty words and wishes of success for every effort you may make for the salvation of our country.

The tide is with us. The English people and Press are beginning to understand the wrongs of India. All Asia is waking up. The Isles of the East have made the start. A great autocracy in the West is crumbling to dust—and we may fairly expect that in dealing with

such a people as the British, with their instincts for liberty and justice roused, our emancipation is not far off, but, I hope, near. My word is : never despair or despond—go on, go on, thoroughly united—come weal, come woe—never to rest, but to persevere with every sacrifice till the victory of self-government is won.

With my kindest regards, and best wishes to the three Congresses,

Yours very sincerely,
DADABHAI NAOROJI.

* INDIA MUST BE BLED

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji addressed a meeting held on Sunday, July 1, 1900, at the United Methodist Free Church, Markhouse Road, Walthamstow, in aid of the Indian Famine Relief Fund. Mr. Peter Troughton occupied the chair.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who was received with cheers, said : Mr. Chairman,—I feel exceedingly pleased at having to address so large a meeting of English ladies and gentlemen. I assure you it is a great consolation to me that English people are willing to hear what Indians have to say. I will make bold to speak fully and heartily, in order that you may know the truth. I will take as a text the following true words : “India must be bled.” These words were delivered by a Secretary of State for India, Lord Salisbury himself. I

don't mention them as any complaint against Lord Salisbury. On the contrary, I give him credit for saying the truth. I want to impress upon you what these important words mean. Let us clearly understand what is meant by bleeding a nation. It is perfectly true that when government is carried on people must pay taxes. But there is a great difference between taxing a people and bleeding a people. You in England pay something like fifty shillings, or more now, of taxes per head per annum. We in India pay only three to four shillings per head per annum. From this you may conclude that we must be the most lightly-taxed people in the world. That is not the case, however; our burden is nearly twice as heavy as yours. The taxes you pay in this country go from the hands of the tax-payers into the hands of the Government, from which they flow back into the country again in various shapes, fertilising trade and returning to the people themselves. There is no diminution of your wealth; your taxes simply change hands. Whatever you give out you must get back. And deficit means so much loss of strength. Supposing you pay a hundred million pounds every year, and the Government uses that money in such a way that part only returns to you, the other part going out of the country. In that case you are being bled, part of your life is going away. Suppose out of the hundred million pounds only eighty million pounds return to you in the shape of salaries, commerce, or manufactures. You will have lost twenty million pounds. Next year you will be so much the weaker; and so on each year. This

is the difference between taxing people and bleeding people. Suppose a body of Frenchmen were your rulers, and that out of the hundred million pounds of taxes they took ten to twenty million pounds each year ; you would then be said to be bleeding. The nation would then be losing a portion of its life. How is India bled ; I suppose your own case with Frenchmen as your rulers. We Indians are governed by you. You manage our expenditure and our taxes in such a way that while we pay a hundred million pounds of taxation this hundred million never returns to us intact. Only about eighty million returns to us. There is a continual bleeding of about twenty millions annually from the revenues. Ever since you obtained territorial jurisdiction and power in India, in the middle of last century ; Englishmen and other Europeans that went to India have treated that country in the most oppressive way. I will quote a few words of the Court of Directors at the time to show this. " The vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by the most oppressive conduct that ever was known in any country or age." The most oppressive means were adopted in order to bring away from the country enormous quantities of wealth. How was the Indian Empire obtained by you ? It has been generally said that you have won it by the sword, and that you will keep it by the sword. The people who say this do not know what they are talking about. They also forget that you may lose " it by force." You have not won the Indian Empire by the sword. During these hundred and fifty years you have carried

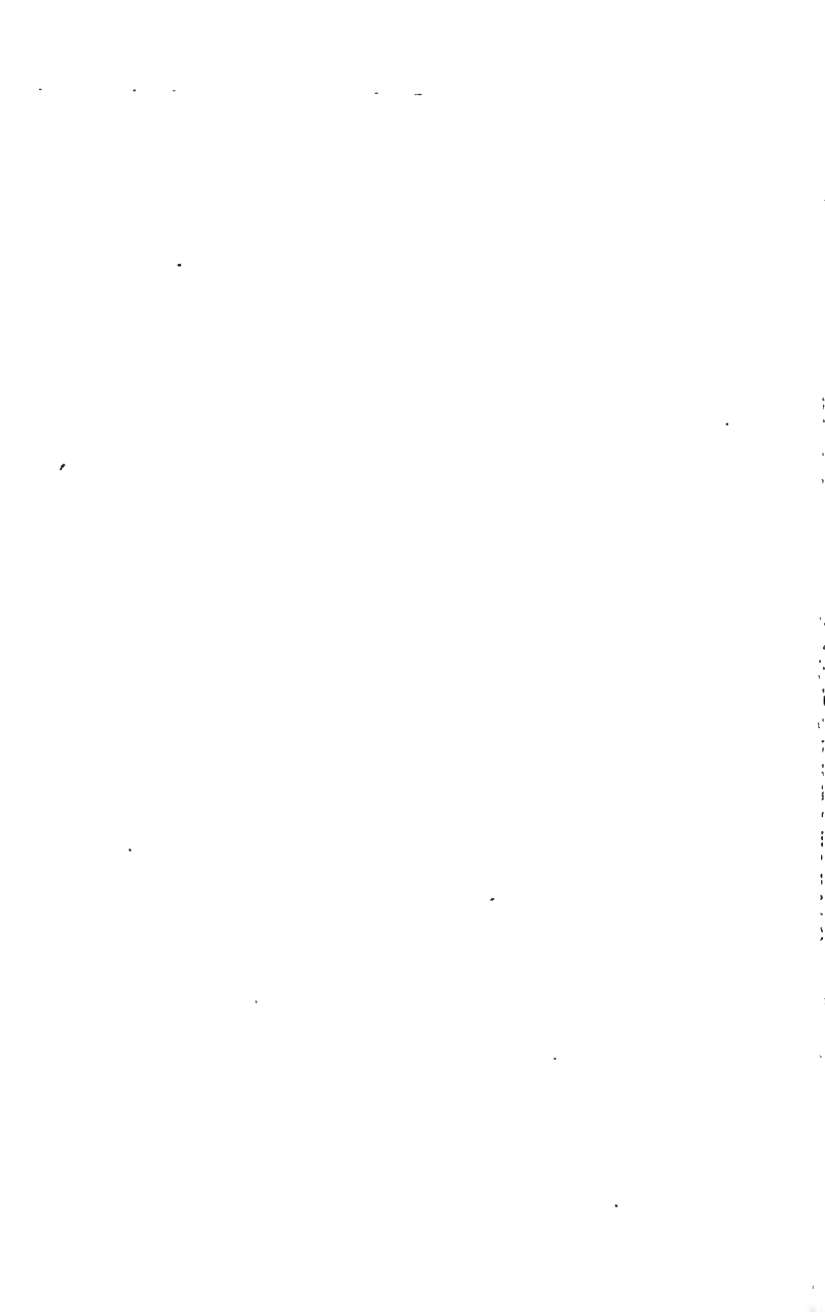
on wars by which this great Empire has been built up, it has cost hundreds of millions of money. Have you paid a single farthing of it? You have made the Indians pay every farthing. You have formed this great British Empire at our expense, and you will hear what reward we have received from you. The European army in India at any time was comparatively insignificant. In the time of the Indian Mutiny you had only forty thousand troops there. It was the two hundred thousand Indian troops that shed their blood and fought your battles and gave you this magnificent Empire. It is at India's cost and blood that this Empire has been formed and maintained up to the present day. It is in consequence of the tremendous cost of these wars and because of the millions on millions you draw from us year by year that India is so completely exhausted and bled. It is no wonder that the time has come when India is bleeding to death. You have brought India to this condition by the constant drain upon the wealth of that country. I ask any one of you whether it is possible for any nation on the face of the earth to live under these conditions. Take your own nation. If you were subjected to such a process of exhaustion for years you would come down yourselves to the condition in which India now finds herself. How then is this drain made? You impose upon us an immense European military and civil service, you draw from us a heavy taxation. But in the disbursement and the disposal of that taxation we have not the slightest voice. I ask anyone here to stand up and say that he would be satisfied if, having

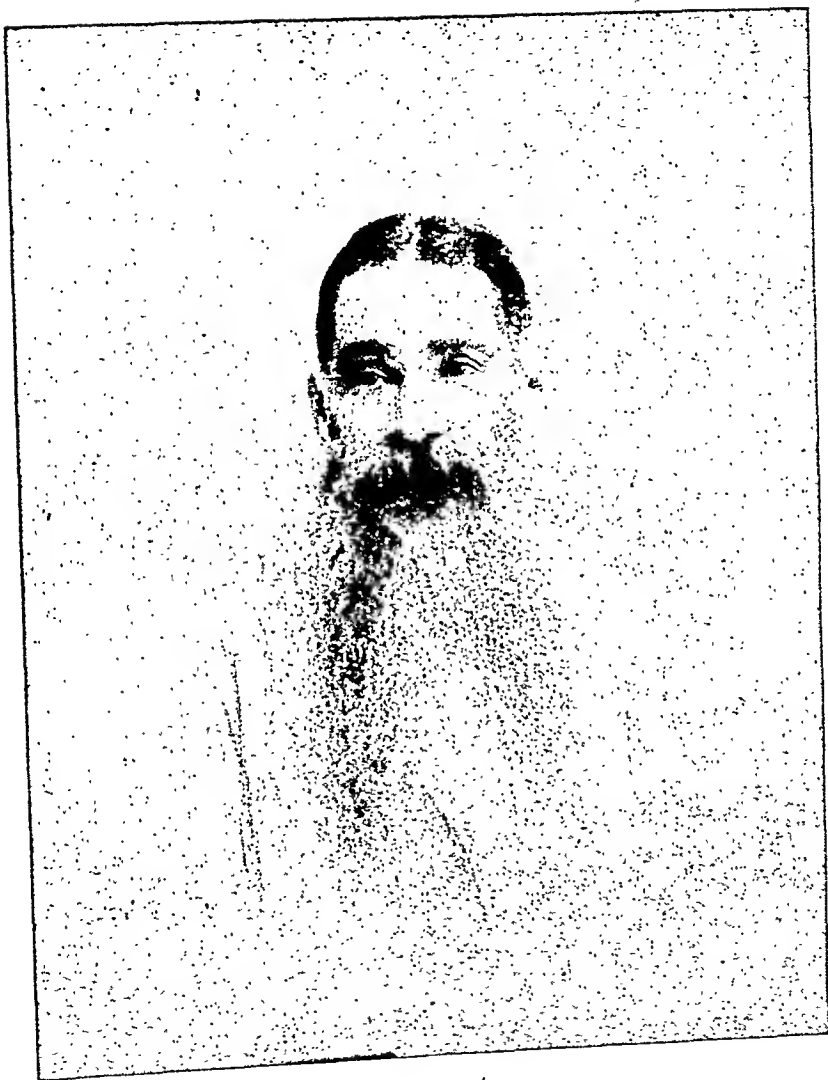
to pay a heavy taxation, he had no voice in the government of the country. We have not the slightest voice. The Indian Government are the masters of all our resources, and they may do what they like with them. We have simply to submit and be bled. I hope I have made it quite clear to you, that the words of Lord Salisbury which I have quoted are most significant; that the words are true and most appropriate when applied to India. It is the principle on which the system of British Government has been carried on during these 150 years. What has been the consequence? I shall again quote from Lord Salisbury. He says: That as India must be bled the lancet should be directed to the parts where the blood is congested or at least sufficient, not to those parts already feeble from the want of it." Lord Salisbury declared the agricultural population, the largest portion of the population of India, was feeble from the want of blood. This was said twenty-five years ago; and that blood has been more and more drawn upon during the past quarter of a century. The result is that they have bled to death; and why? A large proportion of our resources and wealth is clean carried away never to return to us. This is the process of bleeding. Lord Salisbury himself says: "So much of the revenue is exported without a direct equivalent." I ask any one of you whether there is any great mystery in these dire famines and plagues? No other country exhausted as India has been exhausted by an evil system of government would have stood in half the time. It is extraordinary that the loyalty of the Indians-

who are bled by you is still so great. The reason of it is that among the Hindus it is one of their most cherished and religious duties that they should give obedience and loyalty to the powers that govern them. And they have been loyal to that sentiment and you have derived the benefit of it. It is a true and genuine loyalty. But do not expect that that loyalty cannot fail, that it will continue in the same condition in which it is at the present time. It is for the British to rouse themselves and to open their minds, and to think whether they are doing their duty in India. The theory maintained by statesmen is that India is governed for the benefit of India. They say that they do not derive any benefit from the taxation. But this is erroneous. The reality is that India, up to the present day has been governed so as to bring about the impoverishment of the people. I ask you whether this is to continue. Is it necessary that, for your benefit, we must be destroyed? Is it a natural consequence, is it a necessary consequence? Not at all. If it were British rule and not un-British rule which governed us, England would be benefited ten times more than it is (Cheers). You could benefit yourselves a great deal more than you are doing if your Executive Government did not persist in their evil system, by which you derive some benefit, but by which we are destroyed. I say let the British public thoroughly understand this question, that by destroying us you will ultimately destroy yourselves. Mr. Bright knew this, and this is an extract from one of his speeches. He said, or to the effect. By all means seek your own

benefit and your own good in connection with India ; but you cannot derive any good except by doing good to India. If you do good to India you will do good to yourselves. He said there were two ways of doing good to yourselves, either by plunder or by trade. And he said he would prefer trade. Now, I will explain how it would benefit you. At the present time you are exporting to the whole world something like three hundred millions worth of your produce a year. Here is a country under your control with a population of three hundred millions of human souls, not savages of Africa. Here is India, with a perfectly free trade entirely under your control, and what do you send out to her ? Only eighteen pence per year per head. If you could send goods to the extent of £ 1 per head per annum India would be a market for your whole commerce. If such were the case you would draw immense wealth from India besides benefiting the people. I say that if the British public do not rouse themselves, the blood of every man that dies there will lie on their head. You may prosper for a time, but a time must come when you must suffer the retribution that comes from this evil system of government. What I quoted to you from Lord Salisbury explains the real condition of India. It is not the first time that English statesmen have declared this as absolutely as Lord Salisbury has done. During the whole century Englishmen and statesmen of conscience and thought have time after time declared the same thing, that India is being exhausted and drained, and that India must ultimately die. Our

misery is owing to this exhaustion. You are drawing year by year thirty millions of our wealth from us in various ways. The Government of India's resources simply mean that the Government is despotic and that it can put any tax it chooses on the people. Is it too much to ask that when we are reduced by famine and plague you should pay for these dire calamities ! You are bound in justice and in common duty to humanity to pay the cost of these dire calamities with which we are afflicted. I will conclude with Lord Salisbury's other true word : " Injustice will bring down the mightiest to ruin." (Great applause.)





W. C. Bonnerjee

WOMESH CHUNDER BONNERJEE

One of the great mysteries of human life is that among men who live and struggle against necessity, some are favoured by destiny with circumstances which give them advantage over their fellows in the very beginning when help is so often needed. Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee was one of Fortune's favoured few and throughout the course of his professional career and public activity he never felt what it was to struggle with adverse fate. The gods poured their gifts of intellect, wealth, friendship, and wisdom into his lap with a lavish hand, and no wonder that he did not muse upon the painful mysteries of existence, the awful contrasts in life, and the bitter feelings engendered by disappointment. The natural serenity of his mind was never disturbed by suffering, nor was his temper soured by galling treatment from superiors on whose favour he depended for material encouragement.

He was a Greek among the Indian leaders of the past generation, a Greek with the philosophic calm of mind and happy circumstances in life, which contributed not a little to the moderation in counsel of which he was such a conspicuous example among us. This Nestor of political wisdom is no longer among us at a

time when his influence would be of so much value to those who are anxiously watching the course of political activities in the land. Lord Macaulay says that the history of the counter-reformation in Europe was really the history of St. Ignatius Loyola, and we may also say with equal truth that the history of the Congress movement in India is the history of the public life of Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee. The position which this great institution occupies to-day is mainly due to the patriotic labours of Mr. Bonnerjee, his unceasing devotion, his tact, and his material contributions (in short, his position, power and purse) "and this far more than is generally known"—(Mr. Gokhale on Mr. Bonnerjee in England).

The hero of this brief sketch was born at Kidderpore in December, 1844. He belonged by birth to a family of lawyers. His grandfather, Babu Pittambar Bonnerjee, was attached to a firm of attorneys in Calcutta, and his own father, after passing his term of apprenticeship as a clerk in his father's office, passed the examination for attorneys and became a Member of a firm called Judge and Bonnerjee. Thus young Bonnerjee, the second son of his father, was born and lived in an atmosphere of laws. The boy did not, like other lads who have attained to eminence in the future, exhibit any remarkable powers of mind. He was successively a pupil at the Oriental Seminary and the Hindu School, and, when in his seventeenth year, the Matriculation Examination drew near, his father took him out of the school and had him articled as a clerk to an attorney named

W. P. Downing. He did not continue in this office for more than a year when he joined the office of Mr. W. F. Gallenders and became a proficient in the somewhat difficult task of preparing conveyances and pleadings which afterwards proved so helpful to him. Even at this age he began to show his desire to serve his country, and with this object in view he started the *Bengalee* which is now to-day in Bengal one of the most influential organs of public opinion of which Babu (now Sir) Surendranath Bannerjee was subsequently Editor.

In the Competitive Examination in 1864 for one of the scholarships founded by Rustomji Jamsetji Jejeebhai for the benefit of Indian students proceeding to England for the study of law, he was the successful candidate. His entrance into the middle Temple marked an important period in his life, for the hitherto careless young man was now transferred into a veritable Hercules for industry. Having laid the foundation of a successful lawyer, he was called to the Bar in 1867 and was enrolled as an Advocate of the Calcutta High Court in 1868. He was the only Indian Barrister to practise in the High Court, and helped by his friends in the profession, he soon rose to the highest eminence, and extorted the admiration of the bench, the bar and the litigant public. An aspirant for future fame, he did not meet with encouragement from his professional brethren, but his prodigious industry, tenacious memory, clear understanding, and lucidity of exposition, and his courtly manners brought him to the top of the ladder. His wish that he should earn ten thousand rupees a

month was accomplished, and the rewards of his advocacy brought him an immense fortune which enabled him to live like a prince, surrounded by every comfort and luxury. His merit was first recognized by Government when he was made standing counsel, and afterwards by the offer of a seat on the bench which he declined thrice, not choosing to exchange for the ease of judgeship the honour and higher emoluments of the bar.

Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee had the misfortune to cut himself off from the traditions and ties of his religion and community. This was at a time when Bengal ran after European models, casting aside with scorn the associations of the past. As some one has said, "he was English in dress, English in habits, and lived an English life. He looked every inch an Englishman from the waving of his hand to the lighting of his cigar. England was as much his home as India; and every year he divided his time between his English home and Indian home. His children were brought up in England; and some of them have married Europeans. But, although in his individual life he had completely thrown overboard his religion and the customs of his people, he had tolerance enough to recognize the sincerity of others who clung to them as the very breath of their life. His attitude towards social reform would not give satisfaction to those who affect to believe that no political regeneration is possible in our country without social regeneration preceding it. He refused to identify the Congress with social reform, and did not understand

the connection between the re-marriage of widows and the demand for political privileges. "Are we not fit for political reforms," cried he, "because our widows remain unmarried and our girls are given in marriage earlier than in other countries, because our wives and daughters do not drive about with us visiting our friends, because we do not send our daughters to Oxford and Cambridge?"

Mr. Bonnerjee was made a Fellow of the Calcutta University in 1880, and was chosen to represent that learned body in the local Legislative Council. Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt who was a Government nominee in the Council formed the highest opinion of his mental qualities, and found himself in general agreement with him on almost all questions: and on more than one occasion his manly fight for his countrymen was fruitful of good results. It is not by his success at the bar or in the Senate that he has impressed his countrymen, but by his association with the great political institution of his land, the Indian National Congress. He was from the first year of its existence till his death one of its most strenuous champions, and watched over its growth with the solicitude of a parent. When the first Congress met in Bombay in 1885, he was unanimously elected the President. Although he was no orator of the type of Babu Surendranath Bannerjee, swaying his audience by the magic of his eloquence, he could carry conviction to the intellect by his deliberate and clear exposition. He claimed even for the first Congress a representative character, not indeed the representative character of the

British House of Commons but that informal one based upon "community of sentiments, community of feelings, and community of wants." Mr. Bonnerjee was one of those Indians of an earlier period whose faith in the British Raj approximated to religious certitude, and he never, with the devotion of a believer, would confess that he had been disappointed in his expectations. Even in the first Presidential Speech he had to contradict the assertion of the enemies of the new association who were tempted to describe it as consisting of disloyal men. He said "that there were no more thoroughly loyal and consistent well-wishers of the British Government than were himself and the friends around him." But this feeling of attachment to the British connection did not mean a forgetfulness of their duties to their country. "The more progress a people make in education and material prosperity, the greater would be the insight into political matters and the keener their desire for political advancement." He thought that their desire to be governed according to the ideas of Government prevalent in Europe was in no way incompatible with their thorough loyalty to the British Government. All that they desired was that the basis of the Government should be widened and that the people should have their proper and legitimate share in it." Here was an emphatic declaration of the aims and objects of the Congress in its very inception, but, interested men and authorities were not prone to believe in this honest assertion, but continued to attack by all means the fair name of the Institution, which has survived contempt.

and misrepresentations but which is now endangered not by external foes but by internal dissensions. The second Congress held its sittings in Calcutta and the successful termination of its proceedings is mainly due to the interest of Mr. Bonnerjee. He strove to carry through the Congress a proposition on the Jury system in India which gave the District Judges the power to refer to the High Court cases, when they happened to differ with the Jury. He and the other great Bengali lawyer Mana Mohan Ghose overcame the opposition to the resolution for securing finality to verdicts of the Jury. The third session of the Congress in 1887 was a memorable one, for it was presided over by Mr. Badruddin Tyabji, a Mahomedan gentleman of the greatest catholicity of spirit whose co-operation at that time tended to remove the impression that the Congress was a purely Hindu gathering, as its enemies said. It was during this Congress that, when the proposition on Military Colleges came in for a good deal of opposition, the President called upon Mr. Bonnerjee to define the term Native of India, which he did by including in it even Eurasians and East Indians and domiciled Europeans.

He was not present at the next Congress, for he was in England recruiting his health, but he took this opportunity for enlisting the sympathy of the British people in the cause of India. He addressed English audiences in different parts of the coun'ry, and sought to dispel the ignorance of the people concerning Indian grievances and aspirations. He criticised the amendments introduced by that great Lawyer, Sir James Fitz.

Stephen, in the Criminal Procedure Code, urged the necessity for the expansion of the Legislative Councils, and for the election of non-official members who would not be absolutely dependent upon the Government for their seats. He described very humorously the pitiable position of a certain member of the Viceregal Council who was completely ignorant of the language in which the debates were conducted. He was asked how he knew the way in which the President wanted him to vote, and his answer was "When the Viceroy lifts up his hand one way, I know he wants me to say 'yes,' and I say, yes," and when he lifts his hand in a different way I know he wants me to say, 'no,' and I say "no." He refuted the argument that the Indians had no representative institutions in the past and therefore they are not fit for them. The village system in India is a model of the representative system as it prevailed in India in former days, and in many parts of the country it still holds its place, in spite of the forces that have been in operation for the breakup of the village autonomy.

After pleading the cause of his country at the bar of the English nation, he returned to India in 1888 in time to be present at the fourth session of the Indian National Congress that was held at Allahabad under the Presidency of George Yule.

Mr. George Yule was induced by the sweet reasonableness of Mr. Bonnerjee to accept the onerous position that was entrusted to him. Not only the President, but the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Pundit

Ajudhianath, was won to the Congress cause by the tactful and courteous persuasion of the indefatigable Bonnerjee. It was a time of despair which, as in the immortal allegory, captures even the most sanguine temperament when it is wearied with the efforts of an apparently hopeless responsibility. His voice raised in encouragement of the drooping courage of the Congressmen, counselled moderation, patience, fidelity to the great cause and to themselves. "Give a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether, and you reach the shores of victory in no time."

Next year in 1889 the Bombay Congress was presided over by Sir William Wedderburn, and was graced by the presence of one of the stoutest and most sympathetic Englishmen that ever interested themselves in the uplifting of our country. Mr. Charles Bradlaugh who had fought many a hard fight and won at last was induced to leave his country and be present at the Congress session at Bombay. The honour of his visit to our land is entirely to be attributed to the efforts of Mr. Bonnerjee who was loved and respected by every Englishman who came into contact with him.

When the Congress met in Calcutta a second time in 1890, Mr. Bonnerjee was prevented by physical suffering and private sorrow from taking that part in its deliberations which none could discharge so satisfactorily as he. The following year Nagpur had the privilege of inviting the Congress, and in that year Mr. Bonnerjee moved the delegates to adopt a resolution which expressed the necessity for holding a Congress every year in India.

This momentous resolution was contrary to the sentiments of the British Congress Committee who desired that the Congress should hold one of its sittings in London for the edification of the British Public. In 1892 Mr. Bonnerjee was elected a second time to the Congress Presidency, an honour which is seldom bestowed upon Indians and which shows the confidence which was reposed in him by Congressmen. For once he went of his way, and delivered a long speech. In it he gave deserved praise to Mr. A. O. Hume who has been aptly styled the "Father of the Indian National Congress." But the success achieved by it was ultimately to be traced to the manifold influence introduced into the country by the British Government. "It is not the influence of this man, or of that man or of any third man that has made the Congress what it is. It is the British professors who have discoursed eloquently to us on the glorious constitution of their country; it is the British merchants who have shown to us how well to deal with the commodities of our country; it is the British engineers who have annihilated distance and enabled us to come together for our deliberation from different parts of the empire; it is the British planters who have shown us how best to raise the products of our soil; it is all these, in other words, it is all the influences which emanate from British rule in India that have made the Congress the success it is."

As a lawyer he was very much interested in the administration of justice especially criminal. He maintained that the system of trial by Jury was not foreign to-

this country: The Panchayat System for generations has familiarised it to the people of this country, and various enactments extending the system into India, were based upon it. That the trial of offences of a serious nature should be entrusted to officials, serving under the Government, was apt to produce much dissatisfaction, and in many cases miscarriage of justice. This question, of course, was placed in the forefront, because it was the purity of the tribunals of justice that formed one of the main pillars of the stability of the British Government in this country. In the memorable Congress held at Poona, Mr. Bonnerjee considered another aspect of the jury system, as it prevails in India; *viz.*, the calling upon juries to give special verdicts. "Five men, perfectly indifferent to the prisoner and perfectly indifferent to the Crown, may be expected to arrive at a right verdict; but unless they are trained lawyers, unless they have the logical faculty of assigning reasons for their opinion in a taking shape, you cannot expect the jurymen to give such verdicts as would be acceptable to everybody; and if a jurymen gives reasons which are not acceptable and which appear on the face of them to be foolish, the Judge would go to the High Court and say, "Look at the verdict, look at these reasons which these men have given for the verdict; they are foolish and this verdict must be upset," though their verdict may be perfectly just under the circumstances. Such a thing as special verdict has been altogether unknown to the English Criminal law."

In 1892 Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was returned at the

head of the poll as member for Central Finsbury. In 1896 the Subject Committee entrusted to Mr. Bonnerjee a proposition which expressed confidence in Mr. Dadabhai and the hope that he would be re-elected. Mr. Bonnerjee moved the Congress Resolution on the sedition law as amended by Mr. Chalmers who claimed that he was only bringing the law in India on a line with the law as it prevails in England. He had no objection at all to the law of sedition in this country being made the same as in England provided, of course, Mr. Chalmers gave us in this country the same machinery for the administration of the law as exists in England. In England, trials for sedition are held before a Judge, who is a countryman of the prisoner, and by a jury, who are also countrymen of the prisoner, and no trial can take place unless a true bill has been found against the prisoner by a grand jury who are also countrymen of the prisoner. If Mr. Chalmers gave us this mode of trial, we should hail him, however severe he might make the law, as the greatest law-giver that has ever come to this country. He went on to observe how the District Magistrates who are officers of the Government in the strict sense of the term and whose promotion depends upon the good will of the Government for the time being, were empowered, according to the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, with authority to try cases of sedition. He anticipated that the Jury in a presidency town might consist entirely of Europeans and that not a single one of them need know the lan-

guage in which the seditious speech is alleged to have been made or the seditious article to have been written. He did not think that their protest would make the Government abandon the proposed amendment in the law of sedition, necessitated by the Tilak trial in 1897. He wanted to carry the protest before a higher authority than even Lord Elgin's Government. The British public must be made to know how the agents they had sent to govern the country on their behalf and in their name were dealing with the people; that is, dealing in a manner wholly unworthy of the British name and the British law of freedom. He had no doubt that, if we convinced them that we were right, the British nation would rise in their wrath and free us from the trammels that Lord Elgin and his Councillors were forging for us. This was the sum and substance of the political philosophy that was sworn to by Congressmen everywhere in the country. The ultimate appeal lay to the British public, the fair-minded and magnanimous British public. If they failed us, then we had nothing else to do but to sit down and wring our hand in impotent despair. The policy of the Congress has changed much since that time. There is a new spirit abroad which affirms in no hesitating voice that our destiny is in the first instance in the hands of the Almighty and next in our own hands. It is of course quite possible to reconcile the old faith with the new born hope and strength. It is on account of the absence in our midst of one who has assimilated the old and the new that we are forced to face the disastrous situation of the political workers.

in the country being divided into two hostile camps, spending their strength in mutual reproaches. This is not the place to discuss the great problem which it is hoped the common sense and patriotism of our politicians would solve to the lasting advantage of our country.

Mr. Bonnerjee left India for good in 1902 and lived in a magnificent house that he had bought at Croydon. His practice at the bar of the Privy Council grew to a considerable extent. He lavished the hospitality of his home on his guests with the dignity of a prince. He rendered signal service to the British Committee of the Indian National Congress and in addition to all these labours he wanted to become a Member of Parliament. But while nursing the constituency of Walthampstow, he was attacked by an affection of the eye and was reduced to a very precarious state of health. The hand of the Reaper was upon him. He knew and wrote to Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt that he did not hope to live long. On July 21 of 1906, the end came and the suffering patriot entered into the rest of the sons of God. His last remains were cremated at Golder's Green when Mr. Dadabhai delivered a short funeral oration with great feeling:

The voice of the great statesman is now hushed in the dust, but every son of India loves to contemplate the life that was so well spent in the cause of his Motherland. He was not like other great sons whom Bengal has given for the service of the country. He was not a great speaker nor was he fixed by the creed

of nationalism. To many of India's patriots, Nationalism comes from God, like the great faiths founded by inspiration. He did not dwell in the region of religious-political mysticism. His practical judgment worked in the world of facts. He was no impatient idealist but a very sober, wise, candid politician who did not ignore the limitations of our national activities. It is said that he was an autocrat in the Congress, who paid very little respect to the sentiments and opinion of other people but his autocracy was on the whole beneficial. There is a period in the history of every institution when the voice of one man carries more weight than is due to it. We can appropriately close this brief account of his life by quoting the words of Dadabhai Nauroji whom there is no one better qualified to estimate the worth of a fellow-worker. "His utterances were as statesmanlike and far-seeing as they were modestly conceived. There was no undue elation, but, at the same time, there was no shrinking from responsibility, but none rejoiced more than he at the ample fulfilment of the hope he expressed for the stability and progress of the movement he and his companions had met to inaugurate. Since that eventful day, he had devoted himself to the cause with characteristic thoroughness. As a member of the British Committee of Indian National Congress, he displayed the same wisdom and earnestness; and his advice and guidance had always been of inestimable weight and value to them in their deliberations. The successful career which had placed him at the head of his profession was the result of his industry and perseverance

qualities which distinguished him no less than his fearlessness and love of country. It would be long before they looked upon his like; and they could console themselves with the thought of the bright example he had left behind him. He would be sadly missed; but although they lost him, they could never forget him or what he had done for India."

THE EIGHTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1892

Presidential Address of Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:—

The position, which, by your unanimous voice, you have called me to fill is a most distinguished and honourable one. I am proud to fill it and I trust that with your help and by your forbearance I may be able to discharge the duties which will be required of me as the President of the Eighth Indian National Congress adequately and satisfactorily (Cheers.) Those duties, as all of you who have attended the Congress before, know are heavy and onerous in the extreme, and I appeal to you to deal out to me, in the same spirit in which you have dealt out to my predecessors such help and indulgence as may be needed by me.

You have been reminded that I have the honour to be the person, who inaugurated the Congress movement in Bombay, in the year 1885 as its first president. It is a singular coincidence that the Bombay meeting was held on this very day, the 28th December. The first cycle of our existence commenced on the 28th December, under my humble presidency, and ended with the presidency of my friend Mr. Ananda

Charlu, who so kindly proposed my election. The second cycle begins on the same day seven years afterwards and again under my humble presidency. At the first Congress there were only a few of us assembled together, but as I pointed out at the time there were various causes which prevented a larger muster. Those, however, who assembled there on that occasion, were animated by a sincere desire to make the movement a success and fully determined that it should be so if hard work could effect it. And I appeal to those assembled here to-day to say whether that movement has been a success or not (Applause). Year after year we have met, each meeting vying with its predecessor in the number of delegates attending it, the sacrifices which the delegates made for attending it, in the energy, zeal and determination with which the business was passed through, in the moderation which throughout characterized the proceedings before the Congress. There can be no doubt—say what those who do not view our proceedings with friendly eyes, may—that the Congress movement has been a success and a conspicuous success. The persons to whom I have referred have been troubling their brains, from almost the very commencement of the movement, to find out how it is that this movement, which they are pleased to call only a "native" movement, has been such a success. And they have hit upon one of the causes which they have iterated and reiterated, in season and out of season, as the cause of the success of the Congress; namely, the

influence over us of that great man Allan Octavian Hume. (Loud and prolonged Cheers). That Mr Hume possesses, and has exercised, a vast amount of influence over the Congress movement, and over each single Congress which has met, is a fact. We are not only not ashamed to acknowledge it, but we acknowledge it with gratitude to that gentleman, and we are proud of his connection with the Congress (Cheers). But the movement is only to some extent, and I may say only to a limited extent, due to the influence which Mr. Hume has exercised over us. It is not the influence of this man or of that man or of any third man that has made the Congress what it is. It is the British professors who have discoursed eloquently to us on the glorious constitution of their country ; it is the British merchants who have shown to us how well to deal with the commodities of our country ; it is the British Engineers who have annihilated distance and enabled us to come together for our deliberation from all parts of the Empire ; it is the British Planters who have shown us how best to raise the products of our soil ; it is all these, in other words, it is all the influences which emanate from British Rule in India that have made the Congress the success it is (Cheers). The Congress is a mere manifestation of the good work that has been ~~done~~ by all those to whom I have referred (and I ought also to have referred to the British missionaries who have worked amongst us) ; and all that we wish by this movement to do is to ask the British public both in this country and in Great Britain

that without any strain on the connection which exists between Great Britain and this country, such measures may be adopted by ruling authorities that the grievances under which we labour may be removed and that we may hereafter have the same facilities of national life that exist in Great Britain herself. How long it will take us to reach the latter end no one can tell, but it is our duty to keep the hope of it before us, and keep reminding our fellow British subjects that this hope shall always be with us (Cheers).

Some of our critics have been busy in telling us thinking they knew our affairs better than we know them ourselves that we ought not to meddle with political matters, but leaving politics aside devote ourselves to social subjects and so improve the social system of our country. I am one of those who have, very little faith in the public discussion of social matters; those are things which I think, ought to be left to the individuals of a community who belong to the same social organisation, to do what they can for its improvement. We know how excited people become when social subjects are discussed in public. Not long ago we had an instance of this when what was called the Age of Consent Bill was introduced into the Viceregal Legislative Council. I do not propose to say one word as to the merits^{bad} of the controversy that arose over that measure, but I allude to it to illustrate how apt the public mind is to get agitated over these social matters if they are discussed in a hostile and unfriendly spirit in public. But to show

to you that those who organized the Congress movement had not lost sight of the question of social reform. I may state that when we met in Bombay for the first time the matter was discussed threadbare, and with the help of such distinguished social reformers as Dewan Bahadur Rangunatha Rao of Madras, Mr. Mahadev Govind Ranade, and Mr. Krishnaji Lekshman Nulker of Poona, Mr. Norendranath Sen, and Mr. Janakinath Goshal of Calcutta and others. The whole subject was considered from every point of view and we at last came to the conclusion, with the full consent and concurrence of those distinguished men that it would not do for the Congress to meddle itself, as a Congress with questions of social reform. At the same time we also came to the conclusion, that those gentlemen who were anxious in a friendly spirit, to discuss their own social organisations should have an opportunity of doing so in the Congress hall, after the business of the Congress should be over. The principal reason which actuated us in coming to that conclusion was that at our gatherings there would attend delegates following different religions, living under different social systems, all more or less interwoven with their respective religions, and we felt it would not be possible for them as a body to discuss social matters. How is it possible for a Hindu gentleman to discuss with a Parsée or Mahommedan gentleman matters connected with Hindu social questions? How is it possible for a Mahommedan gentleman to discuss with Hindu and Parsee gentleman matters connected with Mahommedan social questions?

And how is it possible for a Parsee gentleman to discuss with Hindu and Mahommedan gentlemen matters connected with Parsee social customs? We thought, and I hope you will agree that we were right, that under the circumstances all we could do was to leave it to the Hindus and the Mohammedans, Parsees and other delegates to discuss their respective social matter in a friendly spirit amongst themselves, and arrive at what conclusions they please, and if possible, to get the minority to submit to the views of the majority (Cheers). I may point out that we do not all understand in the same sense what is meant by social reform. Some of us are anxious that our daughters should have the same education as our sons, that they should go to Universities, that they should adopt learned professions; others, who are more timid, would be content with seeing that their children are not given in marriage when very young, and that child widows should not remain widows all the days of their lives. Others, more timid still would allow social problems to solve themselves. It is impossible to get any common ground, even as regards the members of the same community be it Hindu, Mohammedan or Parsee with respect to these matters. Thus it was that social questions were left out of the Congress programme; thus it was that the Congress commenced and has since remained, and will, I sincerely trust, always remain as a purely political organisation, devoting its energies to political matters and political matters only. I am afraid that those whether belonging to our own country or to any other

country who find fault with us for not making social subjects a part of our work cherish a secret wish that we might all be set by the ears as we were all set by the ears by the Age of Consent Bill and thus we might come to an ignominious end. They mean us no good, and when we find critics of that description talking of the Congress as only fit to discuss social problems I think the wider the berth we give them the better (Chee-s). I, for one, have no patience with those who say we shall not be fit for political reform until we reform our social system. I fail to see any connection between the two. Let me take for instance, one of the political reforms which we have been suggesting year after year, namely, the separation of judicial and executive functions in the same officer. What possible connection can there be between this, which is a purely political reform, and social reform? In the same way, take the permanent settlement which we have been advocating, the amendment of the law relating to forest and other such measures :—and I ask again, what have these to do with social reforms? Are we not fit for them because our widows remain unmarried and our girls are given in marriage earlier than in other countries? Because our wives and daughters do not drive about with us visiting our friends? Because we do not send our daughters to Oxford and Cambridge? (Cheers).

It is now my sorrowful duty to officially announce to you that death has been busy amongst the ranks of Congressmen during the year just passed. Standing on this platform and speaking in this city, one feels almost

an overpowering sense of despair when one finds that the familiar figure and the beloved face of Pandit Ajudhianath is no more. We mourned for him when he died, we have mourned for him since and those of us who had the privilege of knowing him intimately, of perceiving his kindly heart, his great energy, his great devotion to the Congress cause, and the sacrifices he made for that cause will mourn for him to the last. With Pandit Ajudhianath has passed away that other great Congress leader Mr. George Yule. These were the most prominent figures in the Congress held in this city in 1888. Pandit Ajudhianath as the Chairman of the Reception Committee; Mr. Yule as the President of the Congress. It was my singular good fortune to have been the means of inducing both these gentlemen to espouse the Congress cause. I was here in April 1887, and met Pandit Ajudhianath, who had not then expressed his views one way or another with regard to Congress matters. I discussed the matter with him. He listened to me with his usual courtesy and urbanity, and he pointed out to me certain defects which he thought existed in our system; and at last, after a sympathetic hearing of over an hour and a half, he told me he would think of all I had said to him and that he would consider the matter carefully and thoroughly and let me know his views. I never heard anything from him from that time until on the eve of my departure for Madras to attend the Congress of 1887. I then received a letter from him in which he said I had made a convert of him to the

Congress cause, that he had thoroughly made up his mind to join us, that he was anxious to go to Madras himself, but that illness prevented him from doing so, and he sent a message that if it pleased the Congress to hold its next Session at Allahabad in 1888 he would do all he could to make the Congress a success. And you know—certainly, those of you who attended know—what a success he did make of it. Our venerable President of the Reception Committee, of this present Congress has told us the difficulties which had to be encountered to make that Congress a success, and I do not belittle his services or those of any other worthy Congressman who worked with him at that Congress, when I say that it was owing to Pandit Ajudhianath's exertions that that Congress was the success it was.

When it was time to select a president for recommendation to the Congress of 1888, it was suggested to me, I being then in England, that I might ascertain the views of Mr. George Yule, and ask him to preside. I accordingly saw him at his office in the city, and had the same kind of conversation with him as I had the year before, with Pandit Ajudhianath. He also listened to me kindly, courteously and sympathetically and asked me to give him all the Congress literature I had. I had only the three reports of the Congress meetings of 1885, 1886 and 1887, and sent these to him; and to my great joy, and, as it afterwards, turned out, to the great benefit of the Congress, Mr. Yule came to see me at my house and told me that he entirely sympathised with the cause, and that, if elected to be the President of the

Congress of that year, he would be proud of the position, and would do what he could for us. Those who had the good fortune to attend the Congress of 1888, know how manfully and how well he sustained the duties of his position; how he pointed out that the chief plank in the Congress platform—namely, the reform and reconstitution of the Legislative Councils of this country—was by no means an invention on the part of the Congress; that that point had received the attention and been favourably considered and spoken of by that marvellous English statesman Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield. He told us that we were treading in the footsteps of that great man, and that if we perseveringly stuck to our colours sometime or other we should get what we wanted. From that time to the day of his death, Mr. Yule worked with us, gave us his valuable advice and helped us considerably as regards our working expenses. Pandit Ajudhianath as you know, from the time he joined the Congress, worked early, worked late, worked with the old, worked with the young, never spared any personal sacrifices so that he might do good to his country and to the Congress, and his lamented death came upon him when he was coming back from Nagpore, after having worked there for the success of the Nagpore Congress of last year. Those who ever so slightly know Pandit Ajudhianath and Mr. Yule will never be able to forget the great services which these gentlemen rendered to the Congress cause.

From Madras we have the sad news of the death

of Salem Ramaswami Mudaliar. He was an earnest worker and did yeoman service to the cause of his country. In 1885 he was one of a band of three who were deputed to go to Great Britain during the then general election : his colleagues being Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar of Bombay and Mr. Manamohan Ghose of Calcutta and these three devoted men vied with each other as to who could do the most work for the benefit of his country. Salem Ramaswami Mudaliar served on the Public Service Commission as a whole. There were some recommendations of the Commission which Salem Ramaswami Mudaliar and those who worked with him did not approve ; but in order that the recommendations of which they approved might be carried into effect, he and his colleagues, gave in their adhesion to them and all joined in signing the Report. I remember that the report did not give any satisfaction to the country at large. We had discussions on the subject at the Congress of 1888, and some of us were very anxious that the report should be disavowed and that we should, by a resolution, tell the Government that the recommendations of the Commission did not come up to our expectations at all. Salem Ramaswami Mudaliar advised us not to agitate the matter then but wait until the Secretary of State's orders were out. If, he said, the Secretary of State accepted these recommendations the matter might well be allowed to rest for some years to come ; but if he did not do so, then he, Ramaswami Mudaliar, would be the first to reopen the question and carry on the agitation to the end of his life if necessary.

He was a sagacious and courageous man and in him the Congress has lost a leader of eminence and earnestness. In Madras we have also lost G. Mahadēva Chetty and Ramaswami Naidu both earnest Congress workers and they will be missed by their Congress friends and acquaintances. In Bengal we have had two heavy losses by the death of Prannath Pandit and Okhoy Kumar Das. Prannath Pandit was the worthy son of a worthy father, the late Mr. Justice Sumbhoonath Pandit the first native gentleman who was appointed to the Bench of the High Court; and though he died young he was of great service to his country and to our cause and had he been spared he would have done still greater services. Okhoy Kumar Das was a young man still, but his energy was great and as a public man he outshone many of his contemporaries in Lower Bengal. It was due to him that many abuses in our Court of Justice were exposed and it was due to him that Howrah owes its standing Congress Committee. We grieve for all these spirits who have passed away from us and I would beg leave on behalf of this Congress to express to their respective families our respective and reverential condolences in the great loss that has overtaken them. "Sorrow shared is sorry soothed," says the old adage, and if that be a fact, I have no doubt that our sympathy will go somewhat towards assuaging the grief of their families.

Gentlemen, I must now proceed to call your attention to subjects more exciting, though, with the exception of

a couple of them. I am not in a position to say, they are more cheering. The first piece of cheering news I have is that Lord Cross's India Councils Bill after delays which seemed to many of us to be endless has at last been passed through the Houses of Parliament and received the Royal assent. From what we have been able to gather from the speeches delivered by the Viceroy during his tour in Madras it would seem that the rules under which the Act is to be given effect to, are now under the consideration of the Government of India. We all know that the Act in terms does not profess to give us much but it is capable, I believe, of infinite expansion under the rules that are to be framed. If those rules are framed in the spirit in which the present Prime Minister of England understood the Act was framed and what he said was assented to by the then Under-Secretary of State for India, namely, that that the people of India were to have a real living representative in their Legislative Council, if those rules are framed in the spirit of true statesmanship, statesmanship such as one would have confidently expected from Sir Thomas Munro, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Lord William Bentick and a host of other distinguished Anglo-Indian Statesmen who have made British India what she is, I have no doubt we shall all be glad to put away the first plank in our Congress platform, namely, the reform and reconstitution of the Legislative Councils. The spirits that seem to be abroad just now in this country however do not seem to me to give a very hopeful augury as to these rules. I am afraid

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that some of our rulers have been possessed with the idea that we have been progressing too fast. It is a great pity that this should be so. But if these rulers do not come up to our expectations, gentlemen, we must go on with our agitation and not stop until we get what we all think and we all believe and what is more what our rulers themselves have taught us to believe we have a right to get. (Cheers.)

Another cheering event to which I have to call attention is the return of our leader, our revered leader Dadabhai Naoroji (three cheers) to sit in the House of Commons as Member for Central Finsbury. You all know it had been hoped that he would be able to come out from England to occupy the position I am now occupying. We all looked forward to his presence amongst us with hopefulness and trust and with great satisfaction because if he had been with us we could have shown to him face to face that our confidence in him is just as high as it ever was, we could have told him by word of mouth of the great joy which spread throughout the length and breadth of India when the news of his return to the House of Commons was received, of the anxiety with which we watched the fate of the election petition which was presented against his return and how glad we were that it was at last withdrawn. And he could have carried back with him to England our message of gratitude to the Electors of Central Finsbury (Cheers) and have shown them that in electing him as their representative they had also elected a representative for the people of India in the

House of Commons. (Cheers.) Unfortunately his opponent Captain Penton had presented that hateful petition and just at the moment that Mr. Naoroji was to have made his preparations to come out to India it was fixed to be heard. Mr. Naoroji had to stay. There was a hand-to-hand struggle and it was at last found that the number of votes for the two candidates was on a level. Captain Penton must have felt that if he went on any further his number might come down and then Mr. Naoroji would retain his seat and Captain Penton would have to pay all the costs. He thought discretion the better part of valour and prudently withdrew his petition, each party paying his own cost and the seat of Mr. Naoroji is now perfectly safe. And as long as this present Parliament lasts he will remain our member (Cheers) and we shall get all the help it is possible for him to give us in the cause of Indian reforms. But we must not expect too much from him. He is but one in a House of 670 members, and though he will do for us all that prudence, good sense, vast knowledge and great eloquence can do yet he is single-handed. To be strong he must receive all the support he can from this country, and backed up by that support he may be able to put our case convincingly before the House. But, what we really want is not that our countrymen generally should sit in the House of Commons. Englishmen themselves find it extremely hard to find seats there, how much more must we who are "blackmen." What we want and have a right to get is that our countrymen should have the opportunity

of really representing to the Government the views of the people of this country in his country. What we want is that there should be responsible Government in India. I have always felt that the one great evil of the Indian administration is that our rulers are responsible to no one outside their own conscience. That they conscientiously endeavour to do what they can for the good government of our country may be accepted as an undeniable fact and accepted with gratitude. But it is not enough that our rulers should only be responsible to their own conscience. After all they are human beings, with human frailties and human imperfections. It is necessary that they should be responsible to those over whom they have been placed by Providence to rule. (Cheers). In making these observations I have not lost sight of the fact that the Government of India in India is responsible to the Secretary of State for India in Westminster, and that the Secretary of State for India in Westminster is responsible to the Cabinet of the day, of which he is invariably one of the members. Nor have I forgotten that the Cabinet of the day is responsible to the House of Commons. But when you come to consider what this responsibility really is, I think, you will all agree with me that I have not overstated the case in the slightest degree. Unless the Secretary of State for India happens to be a personage of exceptional force of character and of great determination, such as the late Prime Minister proved to be when he was in charge of the India Office, he generally, to use Burke's language, says "ditto" to the

Government of India in India. The Cabinet is so troubled with affairs of the vast British Empire that the members really have no time to devote to India as a body, and leave her to their colleague the Secretary of State for India. When any Indian question comes before the House of Commons, what do we see? The Cabinet of the day has always a majority in the House, and it always finds supporters among its own party, whether they are would-be placemen or whether they are country gentlemen who go to the House of Commons as the best club in England. (Cheers.) And in non-party matters—and they make it a pretence in the House of Commons to regard Indian affairs as matters non-party—in all non-party matters, the Government of the day can always rely upon a large amount of support from the opposition. (Hear, hear.) There are a few members of the House of Commons who make it a point to devote a portion of their time and energies to the consideration of Indian questions. But they are only a few; they have hardly any following; and if they press any matters on the attention of the House, with any degree of zeal, they are voted down as bores by the rest of the House of Commons. (Hear, hear.) Of course the case of Mr. Bradlaugh (Cheers) was entirely different. He was a most masterful man and by his mastery over his fellowmen, he attained the position for himself which he occupied in the House of Commons at the time of his death. There are but few in England like Mr. Bradlaugh. I am sorry to say that since the death of that great man we have not been able to find

one who possesses his capacity, possesses his knowledge, or possesses the influence which he exercised over the House of Commons. Therefore, when you consider what the responsibility of the Government of India is to the Government of England and the House of Commons you will not, I think, be able to come to any other conclusion than that it is *nil*. (Hear, hear.)

But the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils on lines that would allow representatives of the people to be elected to those Councils, the Government would be face to face with them. They would know, at first hand, what the real feelings and the real grievances of the people are. (Hear, hear.) They would then be able to devise measures which would be in consonance with the feelings of the people and which would get rid of their grievances. At present the *modus operandi* is this : A Secretary thinks that a particular measure ought to be passed and it may be taken that he honestly believes that the measure would be for the benefit of the country. He invites two or three Indian gentlemen of eminence, with whom he is acquainted, to see him. He speaks to them in private, and gets their views, which, unfortunately, in the case of these Indian gentlemen generally coincide with the views he himself holds. (Laughter.) The measure is passed. There is a great cry of indignation in the country. The answer of the Government is—"Oh, but we consulted the leaders of your Society, and it is with their help this measure has been passed." I hold that the time has passed for this sort of statesmanship. If the Government make a real

effort to arrive at what the views of the country and people generally are, I have no doubt that they will be able so to shape their policy as to give a satisfaction to all concerned. This, to my mind, is the chief thing that we need. (Hear, hear.) In the Councils our representatives will be able to interpellate the Government with regard to their policy and the mode in which that policy is being given effect to. My conviction is, that the weal and woe of our country is not so much dependent upon the Viceroy or the local Governor, however sympathetic and kind, but upon the officials who have to administer the law and come in contact with the people. Until there is the right of interpellation granted to us in our own Councils, there will be no true responsibility on the part of our Government. I repeat that those who are placed over us, our Viceroys, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and others of lesser degree, are more or less actuated by the desire to do us good, both for their own sake as well as for the people of the country; but the system under which they work is a vicious one, and the result is, no good is really done. (Cheers.)

Now, gentlemen, while a Conservative Government has given us this India Councils Bill, and a Radical Constituency has sent one of our countrymen to the House of Commons, showing in the first instance some and in the second, a great amount of liberality, here, in this country, we have had in a neighbouring province a policy adopted which has made a painfully profound sensation over the whole of this vast empire a sensation

which it will take a very long time to allay. In the first place, though we, in this Congress, and the country generally, have been pressing and pressing the Government not to take away the grants for education but to increase those grants, so far as the Provinces of Bengal and Bombay are concerned, grants-in-aid of high education have been doomed. Government require, they say, money for primary education; they do not wish to spend money upon high education. I am not one of those who believe that primary education is not required. I think it is as much required as high education. But I confess, I do not understand for a moment why it is necessary to starve high education in order that primary education may be provided for and protected. (Cheers.) Government ought to foster education of all kinds alike; it ought to spend its resources upon every kind of education. (renewed Cheers) for the people: not only primary education but technical education of all kinds and also high education. It is said,—“You who have had, and who appreciate high education ought to maintain it yourselves.” I know of no other country in which such a thing as this has been said by Government to the people they rule over. It is one of the first duties of the Government to educate the people just as it is their duty to protect them from thieves and robbers. (Cheers.) If they tell the people to-day, “Go and educate yourselves,” why should they not tell them to-morrow, “You are rich and can afford to keep durwans. Go and protect yourselves against thieves and robbers; we will not do so.” (Cheers.)

But the sensation, to which I referred, is one not so much due to the doings of our Bengal and Bombay Governments as regards high education, as to the notification which the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has lately issued, withdrawing trial by jury in serious cases from the seven Districts in Bengal, where the system of trial by jury had been in existence for some years. (Cries of "Shame.") The plea, upon which this notification has been based, is that trial by jury has been a failure as a means for the repression of crime. (Cries of Shame and no, no.) Can it be said that if a Sessions Judge trying a case with the assistance of Assessors, and without the assistance of a jury acquit a prisoner that he is a failure as a means for the repression of crime? If that cannot be said with regard to Sessions Judges, with what justice can it be said in regard to juries? (Cheers.) Those of us who have had any acquaintance with the subject, have long felt that the administration of criminal justice in this country has been extremely unsatisfactory. There has not been much said about it because it affects people, the majority of whom are poor men—men who cannot make much noise. They submit to what takes place, grumble among their fellows and cry "Kismut".

Now let us see how the matter stands. While in civil cases the evidence is taken down in the language in which the witness gives it, by an officer specially appointed for the purpose, and in appeals the evidence thus taken down is made the basis of the judgment of the Appellate Court where it differs from the notes of

the judge, in criminal cases the witness is, as a rule, taken down by the presiding officer in English. Most of these presiding officers are gentlemen who come to us here from Great Britain. They, no doubt, try and learn the languages of the people they are sent out to govern but the circumstances in which they are placed, and the circumstances in which the people of this country are placed are such that they are compelled to live in entire isolation from one another. You may read the books of a country, you may know its literature well, but unless you have a familiar acquaintance with the people of the country, unless you have mixed familiarly with them, it is impossible for you to understand the language these people speak. Why is there so much outcry about what is called, "Babu English?" Many Babus, and in this designation I include my countrymen from all parts of India, know English literature better, I make bold to say, than many educated men in England. (Cheers.) They know English better and English literature better than many continental English scholars. They know English History, as well, if not better than Englishmen themselves. Why is it, then, that when they write English, when they speak English, they sometimes make grievous blunders? Why is it then that their composition is called stilted? Because their knowledge is derived from books only and not from contact with the people of England. If an English gentleman were to write a book or write a letter, in the vernacular with which he is supposed to be most familiar, I am afraid his composition would bear

a great family likeness to "Babu English." It would be "English vernacular." It would contain grammatical mistakes which would even shame our average school-boy.

Let an English gentleman, thoroughly acquainted with the vernacular of a district, speak to a native of that district. His pronunciation would be such that the native, even if educated, would find it difficult to understand him. It is gentlemen of this description who hear country-people, called as witnesses before them, give their evidence in the vernacular. How is it possible for them to understand them correctly? How much do you think of what these witnesses say to the Judge is taken down correctly and finds a place in the Judge's notes? (Little or nothing.)

And when an appeal is preferred to the Appellate Court, it is this evidence, and this evidence alone, upon which the Judges of that Court have to act. When the District Judge tries a civil case, he has the plaint and written statement translated for him into English by his clerk. The evidence given before him is, as a rule, interpreted to him by the pleaders on either side. But when the same District Judge acts in his capacity as Sessions Judge and presides over criminal trials, he, as a rule, takes down the evidence without the aid of interpreters, in English and he charges the jury in jury cases in the vernacular of the country. (Laughter.) The Indian Penal Code has been translated into all the vernaculars of the country and those who know these languages and who know English, I think, are agreed, that it is ex-

tremely difficult to make out what the Vernacular Penal Code means and charging the jury in the vernaculars means that the judges have to explain the Penal Code to them in vernaculars—a superhuman task almost ! Again, while in civil cases pleaders and particularly pleaders of position are allowed a free hand as regards cross examination, in criminal cases particularly where accused is unable to employ pleaders of eminence, but is compelled to have either junior pleaders or mukhtars, the cross-examination of the witnesses may be said almost to be a farce. The presiding officer gets impatient in a very short time, cuts short the cross-examination at his own sweet will and pleasure and in many cases most important facts are not elicited in consequence. (Hear, hear.) While in civil appeals you, as a rule, get a patient hearing, the argument sometimes lasting for days, just think, those of you who have any experience of these Courts what takes place when criminal appeals are heard by Sessions Judges in the mofussil ! They are often taken up at the fag end of the day and listened to with impatience, and then is asked the almost invariable question, as the judge, after hearing the appeal for a few minutes, is about to rise for the day :—“ Have you anything more to say ; I will read the papers myself and give the decision to-morrow.” The judge rises and the poor man’s appeal is over. Some appeals are dismissed and some, though this is more rare, are allowed. Again, while in civil cases there is the greatest fear that outside influence is brought to bear upon the

presiding officer the thing is inevitable in criminal cases when you consider that the District Magistrate is the real head of the police of the district, and that all officers trying criminal cases, except the Sessions Judge, are subordinate to him and depend on him for promotion. And as regards the Sessions Judges themselves, they may by the system which has now been introduced of dividing the Civil Service into two branches, find themselves independent of the District Magistrate one day and his subordinate the next during the time he oscillates as acting Sessions Judge and Joint Magistrate as not unoften happens. Again, in civil cases we have the right of appeal of course, and if they are of sufficient value of appealing to Her Majesty in Council; in criminal cases we have to apply for leave to appeal and have our appeal only from the Sessions Judge to the High Court, and from the inferior judiciary to the Sessions Judge and in some cases to the District Magistrates. There are many other points to which attention may be called but I think I have said enough to convince those who are not familiar with the matter, that I was right when I said the administration of criminal justice in this country was most unsatisfactory. (Cheers.) The only safeguard which accused persons have against this system in sessions cases is trial by jury. (Hear, hear.) And now the notification of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal withdraws the safeguard from the seven districts in Bengal where it existed, and the whole India has been threatened with a like withdrawal. (Cries of "shame.") The question is not provincial but an imperial

one, and of the highest importance. I therefore think, it is our duty to take the question up and help our Bengal brethren to the utmost extent of our power to get back what they have lost, and to see that other parts of the country are not overtaken by the same fate. (Hear, hear.)

Let us for the moment consider what is the meaning of "trial by jury having failed as a means for the repression of crime." One of the learned Judges of the Calcutta High Court who was consulted upon this matter, I refer to Mr. Justice Beverly, said, that he did not think that a person bent upon committing a crime would stop to think whether, if he is detected, he would be tried by a Judge with a jury or tried by a Judge with the aid of Assessors. (Loud Cheers.) Judges and juries do not sit to repress crime but to ascertain if crime has been committed, and if the jury find that crime has been committed, the Judge punishes the offender. (Cheers.) It is the duty of the police to see that crime is not committed, and when, in spite of their vigilance, crime is committed, to bring the offender to justice. In this country, where unfortunately the police are not overscrupulous as to how they get up cases, trial by jury is the most essential safeguard against injustice. Jurymen being drawn from the people themselves are better able to understand the language in which witnesses give their evidence, better able to understand and appreciate the demeanour of witnesses, the twists and turns of their answers, the rolling of their eyes, the scratching of their heads, and

various other contortions of their physiognomy which witnesses go through to avoid giving straight answers to straight questions, than the Judge upon whom, unless he be an officer of exceptional and brilliant talents, they are lost. (Hear, hear.) A former Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, himself a Sessions Judge of large experience and therefore, able to speak with authority on the subject—I allude to the late Sir A. Rivers Thompson—said in regard to jurymen, that they were more scrupulous in accepting police evidence than the Judges were, and that it was quite right that it should be so. The law allows Sessions Judges to make reference to the High Court if they differ from the verdict of a jury. These references come up before the High Court, and the learned Judges of that Court have before them only the evidence recorded in English by the Sessions Judge, the evidence recorded in the Court of the Committing Magistrate and the Judge's charge. Though they may be men of brilliant talents, men of great experiences, men of great conscientiousness, I still venture to think that it is impossible for them—human beings as they are—reading merely the dry bones of the evidence placed before them upon paper, to come to a correct conclusion as to whether the Judge was right or the jury were right. (Cheers.) If they heard the evidence given by the witnesses in their presence, their conclusion would no doubt be accepted as more satisfactory, and if they differed from the jury it might be that the jury were wrong, but under the present system how can that be done? How can it be said that when they accept the

opinion of the Sessions Judges, the Sessions Judges are right and the jury wrong? And in many of these references, the High Court have accepted the verdict of the jury and differed from the recommendation of the Judge. (Cheers.) The only ground for saying that the system of trial by jury has failed, is, as I understand, that the High Court has in some instances differed from them, and adopted the recommendation of the Sessions Judge. I have told you, it is impossible—regard being had to the limitation of human nature—to say with confidence, who was right and who was wrong; but assuming that the jury were wrong in many instances, and that they had given improper verdicts, what is the consequence? A few more persons who would have been in jail are now free men. What then? Has there been any complaint on the part of the people of these seven districts that they went about in fear of their lives because by the obstinacy and perversity of jurymen, accused persons who ought to have been condemned to death had been set free? (Hear, hear.) Did any one say, that he or she regarded the system with disfavour or dislike or fear? Had any one suggested that the system should be abolished? I say emphatically, no. No complaint reached the Government from the people affected, that the system had failed.

It is the overflowing desire on the part of the Government to do good to us that has been the cause of the withdrawal of this system! Save us from our well wishers, say I. (Loud Cheers.) I could have

understood the action of Government if there had been any hue and cry in the country on the subject. I could have understood it, if any representation had come from those affected to the Government; but under the circumstances this bolt from the blue I do not understand and cannot appreciate. (Loud Applause.) It is said that trial by jury is foreign to this country. We who have cherished our panchayat system for generations to be told that trial by jury is foreign to us, to be told so at the fag end of the nineteenth century, why, it is strange indeed! No, no, gentleman—it was on our panchayat system that Lord Cornwallis proceeded when in 1790 he ruled that we should have trial by jury. It was on that system that Sir Thomas Munro based his regulation which his successor promulgated in 1827. It was on that system that the Bombay Regulation on the subject was introduced, and when these Regulations were codified in 1861, it was on that system the law was based. We must have the system extended to the whole country and not withdrawn from any part of it, and we must therefore join together and agitate on the subject from one end of India to the other, and say, that this notification, which has given rise to so much discontent, was not required, and that it should be withdrawn and withdrawn as speedily as possible, and the policy of which it is the outcome reversed. (Loud Applause.)

I am afraid, gentlemen, I have detained you longer than I should have done. (Cries of no, no,

and go on.) I have but a few more words to say and those I shall say as briefly as I can. I said at the outset that the Congress movement has been a great success, but it behoved us all to make it even a great success than it is. During the jury agitation in Bengal I was greatly pained, more pained than I can describe, by one of the apologists of the Government saying openly in his paper, that the agitation against the jury notification was of no account because it was only a "native" agitation and that no European had joined it. As a matter of fact, I know from personal knowledge that a great many very respectable and independent gentlemen in Calcutta joined the movement and cordially sympathised with it. But suppose it had been otherwise? The same apologist has, day after day, pointed out that the withdrawal of trial by jury, in these seven Bengal districts in serious cases, does not in any way touch Europeans or European British subjects. If he is right in this it is not a matter of surprise that Europeans have not joined the movement. But because Europeans have not joined the movement, is a movement of the people of this country to be despised? Is our voice not to be listened to because, forsooth, to that voice has not been added the voice of our European fellow-subjects? (Hear, hear and Cheers.) We would welcome, welcome with open arms, all the support which we can get from our European fellow-subjects.

I believe, that so far as the non-official Europeans are concerned, their interest and ours in this country are

the same, we all desire that there should be a development of the resources of the country and that there should be enough for all who are here, whether for a time or in perpetuity. (Hear, hear.) But apart from that, why is our voice to be despised? It is we who feel the pinch; it is we who have to suffer, and when we cry out, it is said to us, "Oh! we cannot listen to you; yours is a contemptible and a useless and a vile agitation, and we will not listen to you." Time was when we natives of the country, agitated about any matter, with the help of non-official Europeans the apologists of the Government used to say triumphantly, "This agitation is not the agitation of the natives of the country, but has been got up with a few discontented Europeans; don't listen to them, it is not their true voice: it is the voice of the Europeans!" But now we are told, "don't listen to them, it is their own voice and not the voice of the Europeans." (Shame.) It is sad that such reflections should be published by responsible journalists pretending to be in the confidence of our rulers. I hope and confidently trust that these are not the sentiments by which any administration in India is actuated. I hope and trust that when we make respectful representations to the Government, they will be considered on their own merits whether we are joined in our agitation by our European fellow-subjects or whether we stand by ourselves; and in order that these representations of ours, not only on the jury question but on other questions which touch us, may succeed, it is necessary that we, in our Congress, should work and

work with a will. It is not enough that you should come from long distances and be present at the annual sittings of the Congress. It is necessary, when you go back to your respective provinces and districts, that you should display the same zeal and interest there. It has been the habit to leave the whole Congress work to the Secretary. We go back to our districts and sleep over it and leave the Secretary to do all he can for the business, in the shape of getting money, and then when it is time for the Sessions to be held, we put on our best clothes, pack up our trunks and go. But that is not work. Let us all on our parts act zealously and make sacrifices. Without money it is impossible to be successful in anything, let each of us go back and help our respective Secretaries, let us try and get as much money as we can for the success of the cause. (Hear, hear.) You all know that our cause has the support of some distinguished men in England, who form, what is called the Congress Committee in England. They are willing to give us their services unstintingly, ungrudgingly; but you cannot expect them to give their services to us at their own expenses. You cannot expect that the necessary expenses required for the hiring of rooms, for the printing of papers, for the despatch of telegrams and all other things necessary for carrying on the great cause shall be paid out of their own pockets. We must do our best to support them; we must do our best to support the cause; and if we are true to ourselves, if we are true to our principles, if

we are true to our country, be assured that in the fulness of time all that you require from the benign Government of the British nation, all that you seek from them to make you true citizens, will be given to you by that nation. (Loud and prolonged Applause.)



Lal Mohan Ghose

LAL MOHUN GHOSE

Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose is one of India's greatest public speakers. He was born on 17th December 1849 in Krishnagar. His father Rai Bahadur Ram Lochan Ghose was one of the founders of the present Dacca College, and rose to be a Principal Sudder Amin in the Bengal Judicial Establishment. Young Ghose received his early education in Calcutta and passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University in the first class and as the first boy in the whole Presidency. His elder brother, Mono Mohun Ghose, sent him in 1869 to England to study for the Bar. He joined the Middle Temple and was called to the Bar in 1873 and returned to India to practise at Calcutta. The first event that brought him to the front was the question of the Indian Civil Service Examination and the agitation connected with it. Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee had started this agitation as Secretary of the newly formed Indian Association. A delegate to represent the Indian view of the question in England became necessary. The proper person was found in Lal Mohun and he fully justified the selection made. He reached England in 1879 with huge memorials for presentation to Parliament. He secured the good-will and sympathy of Mr. John

Bright in the cause he represented and forthwith began to address meetings in England. The first of these was held in Willis' Rooms in London and was a great success. Mr. Bright, who presided on the occasion, said, on rising to address, that he had nothing new to add. The effect of the address was remarkable. In twenty-four hours the Government of the day propounded and placed on the table of the House the now defunct Statutory Civil Service. Of the two other interesting addresses that he delivered on the occasion, one was before the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce on the financial and general policy of the Government of India on 30th September 1879, Mr. S. Booth, the Vice-Chairman of the Chamber, presiding. One passage in it admirably sums up the position of India thirty years ago as much as it does the present situation. "During the century and a half," said Mr. Ghose, "that had elapsed since the foundation of the Indian Empire, England had done much to earn the lasting gratitude of India to impress the people with the conviction that the continuation of British rule was for their benefit and safety. But while all that was freely and ungrudgingly admitted, they could not help thinking that the Government of India had of late clearly and unmistakably manifested a desire to depart from that line of justice and generous confidence which had hitherto been followed with excellent results, and that the present administration in India was disposed to consider the people more as a hostile and newly subdued race, than the citizens of a great, free and peaceful Empire, as the

subjects of a Sovereign to whom they were as loyal as their English fellow-citizens."

On his return from England, he had an enthusiastic reception accorded to him at Calcutta on March 4, 1880. The late Honourable Kristo Das Paul, C.I.E., presided on the occasion and complimented Mr. Ghose on the "most satisfactory manner in which he had discharged the very delicate and responsible duty entrusted to him by his countrymen." This was followed by a public vote of thanks being passed for his services.

Mr. Ghose sailed, a few months later, once again to England to represent the wants of India. One of the most remarkable speeches that he then made deserves special mention. It was in connection with the Anniversary of the Aborigenes Protection Society, held on 19th May 1880. Mr. Ghose, whose presence as a "Native of India" made an impression on the occasion, warmly criticised Sir Bartle Frere's Zulu policy. Remarking on the policy of the British towards the Zulu King long anterior to and just before the war, he said that "Englishmen are excellent judges and arbitrators when they themselves have no interest one way or the other in the subject-matter of the dispute"—a statement that was received with laughter and cheers. "But," he added, "when it is otherwise, when their own interests are concerned, they are very much like other human beings (much laughter and cheering) and hence the sound old maxim of English law that no man should be a judge in his own case." And the other speech that he made during this visit to England was on the Peace of the

World before the London Peace Society, a Society of which Mr. Bright was an honoured member. On his return from England early in November 1800, he was voted a public address. A crowded meeting was held in the Framji Cowasji Institute on 4th November, the chair being taken by the late Hon'ble V. N. Mandlik, C.S.I. Mr. Mandlik claimed him as a Representative of Western India as well in his mission to England and reminded Mr. Ghose that it was for that reason that the address was presented to him. In reply Mr. Ghose made an excellent speech listened to with rapt attention by the audience. One sentence deserves to be inscribed here. "Believe me, gentlemen," said he, "the very first condition of success in the great national struggle in which we are at present engaged, is not only that we should be perfectly united amongst ourselves, but that English people, who are in the last resort, or at any rate in the last resort but one, the arbiters of our destinies, should know that we are so united."

From this time forward Mr. Ghose began to take a prominent part in the political questions of India. Lord Ripon the new Viceroy of India repealed the obnoxious Vernacular Press Act in 1882 and in the meeting convened by the Native inhabitants of Calcutta to thank him for the gracious act, Mr. Ghose made another of his great speeches. "We find the present Government," said he, contrasting Lord Ripon's with Lord Lytton's administration, "honestly anxious to promote the prosperity and the happiness of the people, to do something for the education of the

masses to encourage native industry, and to try the experiment of local self-government on a new and enlarged basis." The next event in the career of Mr. Ghose brought him fresh laurels. In 1883, India was convulsed over the Ilbert Bill, in itself an insignificant measure of reform in the Criminal Procedure of the country. Of the many addresses then delivered all over the country both for and against the measure, perhaps, the most remarkable was Mr. Ghose's which is here reprinted *in extenso* in this volume. Its satire, its invective and its powerfulness have seldom been surpassed in the many political speeches that India has known during the past fifty years.

It killed a Barrister of reputation by its terrible potency. That man (we have no desire to perpetuate his name) had used foul language against Indian ladies. Mr. Ghose's ire was raised against this unmanly, unrighteous conduct of the man. "But the climax of impudence," thundered Mr. Ghose, "is reached in the next passage to which I shall call your attention. With a brutality unsurpassed, unequalled, and with a total absence of shame, he covered himself with lasting infamy by levelling his cowardly insults against the innocent and unoffending women of this country. He dared to tell his hearers that our ladies 'were used to the foul multitudes of the courts.' Let the whole country throughout its length and breadth declare with one voice what it thinks of such conduct and if the authors of these insults venture to appear in any public assembly, let their ears be greeted with one universal

hiss of indignation so that stung with shame and remorse they may fly, far from the country whose air they have polluted with their pestilential breath (Cheers.)"

A few months later Mr. Ghose was again in England, this time to enter Parliament. The profound impression he had made in England by his public utterances had secured for him the good will of many local Liberal politicians. Several constituencies offered him a seat. He chose Deptford, fought it out twice but failed. It is on record, however, that several of the English voters were most enthusiastic about his return to Parliament. But the Home Rule Bill and the Irish Votes manipulated against him as a Liberal, at the instance of the late Mr. Parnell, did their cruel work. Else he would undoubtedly have shone as one of the most eloquent members of the Liberal party in the House, coming only next after the illustrious Gladstone and Bright. The Liberals of Deptford marked their approbation of the man by presenting him a richly illuminated address, which was presented to him publicly by Lord Ripon.

Mr. Ghose, however, had other work in England. He had the Ilbert Bill Controversy which had been carried over to England and had in India claimed as its victim Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee. In all Mr. Ghose made half-a-dozen speeches on this controversial topic at different centres in England during the years 1883-1884. "If you follow a policy," said he at the conclusion of the last of these speeches, "of justice and generosity, if by example and education, and by just and generous treatment, you raise us once more to a

position not wholly unworthy of our past history, you will not only entitle yourselves to the lasting gratitude of countless millions, but you will also be conducing at the same time to the stability of the British Empire."

Mr. Ghose returned to India towards the close of 1884 and settled down once again to practise at the Calcutta Bar. As a cross-examiner he has had few equals in his profession. His arguments are terse and vigorous. He has defended numerous poor clients in the Criminal Courts of the country and got them off successfully out of their troubles. During the next few years when he sat on the reformed Councils of 1892, Mr. Ghose renewed his acquaintance with Indian politics. He was chosen by the Presidency group of Municipalities as their representative in the Bengal Legislative Council. Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee supported his old friend's candidature with his well-known eloquence. To this period belongs a remarkable speech that he made on Sir Charles Elliot's Jury notification, which was instrumental in its ultimate withdrawal.

In 1903, Mr. Ghose was, in recognition of his many public services, chosen President of the Nineteenth Indian National Congress held at Madras. On his way down to it, he was received with marked good feeling. The address he then delivered was a masterly one. As early as 1879, Mr. Ghose had discerned the unifying forces at work in India. "The various races," he had remarked, "are being gradually welded together into one common nationality, they are beginning to co-operate with each other in the discussion and agitation of political quest-

ions and the national pulse is beginning to bend with unison." Twenty-four years later he had the honour of presiding over the National Assembly that had taken concrete shape in six years after his prognostication. Speaking of the Congress and of the common charge that it represents the educated minority in India, he said :—

"It has been said that the Congress represents after all a 'microscopic minority.' Although the statement was first made several years ago, it is still echoed from time to time by those who are determined to disparage that movement and hold it up to ridicule. Perhaps they will be surprised to learn that an illustrious writer — whose works have already occupied a prominent position in the classical literature of modern Europe has said, speaking of a country in the van of European civilization, that 'it is only the *élite* of a nation who are alive to the sentiments of glory and liberty, who appreciate noble and generous ideas and are ready to make sacrifices for them. The masses of the people desire quiet and repose, except when they are stirred up by deep and mighty passions.'"

Mr. Ghose is known to have been for a long number of years past engaged on a work on Napoleon and the times he lived in. He had also on hand a translation in metrical English of the well-known Bengali poem "Meghanand Bodh." As a public speaker, Mr. Ghose ranked very high amongst the orators of the day. He had spoken before large English audiences and that in the presence of orators like Bright and Rosebury. To

have won the approbation of such finished speakers is no small tribute to his eloquence. A well-known Colonial Premier bore unsolicited testimony to his great powers of speaking. "That black man," he said after listening to his speech on the jury notification, "Mr. Ghose speaks remarkably well. He speaks straight; he speaks to the point and knows when to stop."

ANGLO-INDIAN AGITATION AGAINST THE ILBERT BILL

Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose addressed a crowded meeting of the citizens of Dacca on 29th March, 1883, at East Bengal Theatre, as follows :—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I confess I did not expect such a large gathering, in spite of the unfavourable weather. I am almost afraid I shall not be able to express in fitting words the various feelings which are agitating me, and my deep gratification, at this unmistakable sign of political regeneration, showing that you are about to shake off the apathy of ages. Although this is my first appearance on any public platform in the capital of East Bengal, yet I don't come before you as a stranger (Cheers). For, although I was not born amongst you, I cannot forget that East Bengal is the home of my father. (Loud Cheers). Gentlemen, it is not without some degree of pride that I make this claim. For, here was the last glorious stronghold of Hindu power. Not far from this city, and nearer still to my own ancestral home, is the site of the sad funeral pyre where the family of the last Hindu king courted a fearful death, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy whom, by reason of an unfor-

fortunate accident, they erroneously believed to be victorious. Well, their memory has survived the flames, and from the ashes of that pyre, their chaste spirits have risen immortal like the fabled Phoenix, and they present to us an example of female virtue, of purity, of devotion to the fatherland, and a stern determination to prefer death to dishonour, a bright and undying example unsurpassed in the history of this or any other country. (Cheers.) Well, these are glories of the past. But, even now in these degenerate days, I am happy to think that there still exists in East Bengal a love of country, a spirit of organization, and a capacity for combined action, and sustained effort which are not altogether unworthy of our past traditions. It is not for the purpose of pandering to an idle vanity that I allude to these things. I have a very different object in view. I am anxious that we should be fully alive to the responsibility which now rests upon every Native of India. The time has now arrived when all those great qualities, of which I have spoken, will be severely tested. Your own conduct must show whether or not you really deserve to be gradually admitted to your full and proper share in the administration of the country, which I rejoice to think is the settled policy of that large-hearted statesman whom God in infinite mercy has called to rule over this ancient land. (Cheers.) Your own conduct must furnish the best vindication of that policy and the most complete refutation of the predictions of your opponents. Remember you have opponents of various kinds. There are honorable antagonists whose fancied

interests turn them against you but who will never stoop to resort to the base weapons of calumny and vilification. Opponents of this kind we can all respect, however much we may regret that they are not farsighted enough to see that after all there is no conflict of interest, and that in the advance of liberal ideas, in true progress, and, above all, in the impartial and equal administration of justice lies the best hope of the permanent stability of British rule in India. (Hear, hear.) But, gentlemen, there are others of a baser sort—a rabble route made up partly of a few Englishmen unworthy of the name, and partly of a heterogeneous horde whom an English gentleman well-known in Bombay has well described in verse as :

“A motley crew
Of each possible shade, of each possible hue,
White, grey, black, and brown, red, yellow, and blue,
The pucca—born Briton and Eight-anna Eu—
—Rasian and Greek, Armenian and Jew.”—
(Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Some of them have lately achieved an unenvied notoriety in the Town Hall of Calcutta. They have “brayed the heroes of the long-eared kind.” At that time, I was detained in my village home in Vikramapore on account of some domestic business, and not having arranged for the newspapers to be sent to me as I was daily expecting to start for Calcutta, I was in entire ignorance of what had transpired for upwards of three weeks until my attention was called to a paragraph in a

Vernacular newspaper. But it was only the other day when I visited this city that I had, for the first time, the opportunity of reading in your own Northbrook Hall a full report of that meeting. And when I read those speeches, I wondered how it was that our friends in Calcutta—some of whom, as you know, have no occasion to be afraid of the oratorical powers of any champion that is likely to be pitted against them in India, and who are not in the habit of writing out their speeches, as I am informed, these redoubted orators did—(Roars of laughter.)—I wondered how it was that the Calcutta people were sitting down tamely under this outrage, and how it was that public meetings had not been called all over India in order to denounce in fitting language the authors of these unparalleled insults. I have been told that the citizens of Calcutta, after much anxious deliberation, decided to preserve a dignified silence. It speaks much for their moderation and temper ; but I cannot agree with them. I believe there are moments in the history of a nation when the virtues of patience and forbearance may be carried too far. (Hear, hear.) This is one of those moments. Already the action of the Calcutta people has been misrepresented. A correspondent of a Bombay newspaper has telegraphed to say that the Natives have been cowed down. Therefore, I say, hesitate no more to enter the lists. Ride in fearlessly, and God speed the right. But as you love your country, as you wish your cause to succeed, take care to confine your agitation within strictly constitutional limits. Do not imitate the pernicious example of your

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opponents who, calling themselves Englishmen, were not ashamed to speak the language of sedition and to suggest lines of action utterly subversive of law and order. You, on the contrary, make law and order your motto. Let our Governors, let our beloved Viceroy, let our august and gracious Sovereign herself see with mingled feelings of surprise and gratification that by a strange irony of fate it was reserved for the Natives of India to teach the Anglo-Indian community how a peaceful and constitutional agitation should be carried on without resort to the language of calumny, of sedition, and of menace. (Cheers.)

Well, gentlemen, having said thus much to explain our position and to prevent any misrepresentation, I can no longer resist the temptation of some what disburdening my mind on the subjects of the late European meeting at Calcutta. (Hear, hear.) It is true the principal offender has since then thought fit to publish a sort of an apology in the newspapers. Some of our countrymen of a more forgiving disposition than myself, and among others my esteemed friend, the Editor of the *Hindu Patriot*, have recommended that we should accept the apology which has been offered, and let bygones be bygones. But I am utterly unable to agree with my honorable friend. This apology is to my mind absolutely worthless. I will also tell you of another incident which will enable you to judge of the value of such apologies. You all remember how in connection with a recent Municipal case at Calcutta, Mr. Branson made certain grave charges against Mr. Behari Lal

Gupta, the Presidency Magistrate. I don't blame him in the least for what he did on the occasion, as he was acting as Counsel under instructions from his client. But hear what happened afterwards. When the case was finished, Mr. Branson had reasons to be satisfied that his instructions were not true, and he accordingly wrote a letter of apology to Mr. Gupta, expressing his great regret that he should have been made to utter charges which he was now convinced were utterly groundless. Well, if the matter had rested there, nothing could be more gentlemanly or more honorable. But it did not rest there for we find him again repeating — his calumnies at the meeting in the Town Hall of Calcutta without a word of reference to his letter of apology and without explaining what had transpired since that letter was written to induce him to alter his opinion again. No, gentlemen, I beg your pardon. I was not quite accurate in saying that he repeated those charges. He had not the courage to state expressly what he had to charge against Mr. Gupta. But he accomplished his purpose in a more indirect and cowardly manner. He left it to Mr. Keswick to repeat all those charges, and when it came to his own turn to speak he emphasised Mr. Keswick's statements in more than one sentence, full of inuendo and insinuation. We were told first of all, "if we look for tact and judgment and impartiality, then where shall we find them in all this wide world, excepting in the person of Behari Lal Gupta!" In another part of his speech he said, alluding to Mr. Gupta, "this Bengali Babu, with all his faults,

wants to sit in judgment over you." Now, gentlemen, you see what this gentleman's apologies mean. He will apologise to you to-day if he thinks it desirable to do so for some reason or other, but he will re-assert or reinsinuate his calumnies to-morrow if he thinks he can do so with impunity. No, gentlemen, the memory of the foul language and unheard of insults which were deliberately uttered on that occasion amid the shouts of a sympathising audience can never be obliterated by any apology however humble, or any retraction however complete. I am anxious there should be no difference of opinion amongst us. I will, therefore, with your permission, refer to one or two of the choicest flowers of rhetoric which were used by this consummate master of the language of Billingsgate. We are first of all told that this Bill had been introduced in order to "remove a sentimental grievance which rankled in the minds of a few blatant Bengali Babus." But I ask you, whom would you rather call "blatant"? The men who speak the language of reason and moderation? Well, if we are somewhat heated and excited now, we have received ample provocation. (Cheers). I ask you to whom would you rather apply the term "blatant"? To the men who lift their loyal voices in favour of justice and of equality in the eye of the law, or to the man who was wicked and seditious enough to call upon Englishmen to "rise as the Athenians rose against Philip," and who, for lack of argument, vilifies a native and calumniates individuals? (Cheers). Well, gentlemen, we have in the next place a carefully prepared, but

nevertheless a feeble paraphrase of a well-known passage in Macaulay's essays. We are told that "what the stiletto is to the Italian, so are false charges to the Bengali;" but those who live in glass-houses ought not to be the first to throw stones at others. It ill becomes the unblushing calumniator, who utters the falsest slanders, to talk in the same breath of false charges with stimulated indignation. But, gentlemen, the next passage is richer still. "Verily and truly," said this orator, "the jackass kicketh at the lion." If this, indeed, were the case, nothing could be more presumptuous or ridiculous. But even the jackass is not foolish enough to insult the majesty of the lion. But if the pitiful cur chooses to cover his recreant limbs with the borrowed hide of the lion then I think the kick of the jackass is his only flitting punishment. (Loud cheers.) But the climax of impudence is reached in the next passage to which I shall call your attention. With a brutality unsurpassed, unequalled, and with a total absence of shame, he covered himself with lasting infamy by levelling his cowardly insults against the innocent and unoffending women of this country. He dared to tell his hearers that our ladies "were used to the foul multitudes of the Courts." Let the whole country throughout its length and breadth declare with one voice what it thinks of such conduct, and if the authors of these insults venture to appear in any public assembly, let their ears be greeted with one universal hiss of indignation, so that stung with shame and remorse, they may fly far from the country whose

air they have polluted with their pestilential breath. (Cheers.) Well, when I read this last infamous passage, I asked myself, can it be that Englishmen have sunk so low as to accept such a veritable "Yahoo" for their spokesman. (Hisses of indignation.) Can it be that any assembly of English gentlemen, with one single spark of their English honour left in them, could have listened to such language with patience? No, gentlemen, I rejoice to think it has not yet come to that. Although in the excitement of the movement some of them might have missed the point of this shameful observation which was artfully put in the midst of a very involved sentence, yet as soon as they had time for reflection, they hastened to protest against such language and to express their sense of shame at having been obliged to listen to it; and I am happy to think that men like Mr. J. Croft in Calcutta and Mr. Wordsworth in Bombay are not solitary exceptions, but represent the views of a large and honorable minority. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, one more reference to these speeches, and I have done with the subject. We are taunted several times with being a conquered race. But if we have been conquered, we have at any rate the satisfaction of knowing that our conquerors were the freeborn sons of England and not men of a mixed race who only came into existence after the British conquest, and whose exact nationality it would be difficult to determine. Well, then, if all these old sores are to be re-opened, if the friendly feelings which have so long subsisted between the two nations and which for so many years

have been fostered and cultivated by a succession of wise and generous statesmen, are to be rudely disturbed : if we are to be thus taunted and insulted, let it at least be done by genuine Englishmen, if they are disposed so far to abuse their privilege as conquerors, but not by Eurasians masquerading in the borrowed mantle of Macaulay, (Pearly laughter.) We will not permit any pseudo-Englishman, any Brummagem Britisher who is "neither fish nor flesh nor good red herring," who is disowned by both England and India alike,—we will not permit such a man to slander our nation and insult our country. (No, never.) If such a person dares to hold the language of contumely and insult towards us, we shall make an example of him. We shall not disgrace our cause by doing anything unlawful or improper ; but we shall only give him, free of charge, the immortality which an admiring correspondent of the *Englishman*, has proposed to confer upon him by means of a statue, but it shall be the immortality of infamy. Our platforms shall ring with denunciations ; our newspapers shall keep alive the memory of the outrages ; and our poets shall sing of his infamy until his name shall become a bye-word and a hissing reproach to after ages and to generations yet unborn. Now, gentlemen, it has been said by the *Englishman* newspaper that we, Natives of India, have no *locus standi* in discussion of the question ; but if we are out of Court, what *locus standi* have homeless Armenians, wandering Jews, and mixed races who have neither country nor nationality ? I need not tell you that Armenia is not an English

country, that they have not a drop of English blood in their veins, and that they can no more claim to be European British subject than you or I can. Nor are the Eurasians much better off. The law requires that in order to claim this privilege, you must show that you are either the son or grandson of a European British subject, born of lawful wedlock. Now, there is scarcely any of them who would not have to ascend very much higher than their grandfather in order to trace their descent from an Englishman. Then, why should these foolish Asiatics swell the ranks of this spurious and artificial agitation, forgetting that this privilege is not theirs—forgetting that, even under the existing law, they can be dealt with by any Native Deputy Magistrate just in the same way as he can deal with the meanest of his countrymen. Why should these outer barbarians cry "*Romanus civis sum?*" Why should Helots, who have no privileges whatever, shout with the Spartans? (Cheers.) But, sir, we live in strange times. The *Indian Daily News* said the other day of an Armenian speaker at the Town Hall that he was, to all intents and purposes an Englishman. It took my breath away to read it. I asked myself "stands England where it did?" Or has it come to this that her brave and sturdy sons have to seek for recruits and allies in Armenia? Or is a morbid hatred of the country which gives him shelter alone sufficient to convert an expatriated Asiatic into a free-born Englishman? But, believe me, gentlemen, those very Europeans who now applaud these men to the skies for shrieking with them and doing their

dirty work, entertain at the bottom of their hearts no other feeling than that of contempt for these their miserable allies: and, probably, if the truth were known, the bitterest and most unreasonable Anglo-Saxon has no such unmitigated contempt for us, the pure Natives of India. Our conquerors know, at least those of them who have the slightest tincture of education and culture, know well, that we had a bright history of our own and a rich literature still unsurpassed and scarcely equalled when Europe was sunk in barbarism and superstition. Englishmen are too chivalrous and too great themselves not to have some respect for the fallen greatness of this country. I have no fears that 'Eng'ishmen, even in India, although the heat of our climate may sometime affect their brains, though they may have their occasional aberrations, will ever as a body permanently forget that conquerors should never be other than generous. Well, our opponents have expressed their determination to go up to the House of Commons. We will also carry our appeal to the same august Tribunal. We are content to abide by the decision of Parliament, confident that that decision will be a just one and that it will be consonant to the noble principles on which this country has been so long governed, and which have been solemnly enunciated in the gracious Proclamation of 1858 which we look upon as our Magna Charta. (Cheers.) But, Sir, a bitter and notorious enemy of this country, Sir Fitz-James Stephen has recently written a letter to the *Times*, urging upon the English people no longer to allow India to be

governed on these principles, but to substitute for them the doctrine of pure and unmitigated force. It would be useless for me to remind him of what was said on a well-known occasion by one of England's noblest sons, Mr. John Bright (Cheers),—namely, that "Force is no remedy." I say it would be useless, because a few years ago, Mr. F. J. Stephen did not even scruple to make a bitter attack upon the great Tribune, because of his noble and philanthropic views regarding the policy that ought to be pursued in this country. Within a few days afterwards, the Tories, who were then in power, rewarded the assailant of Mr. Bright with a seat on the English bench. Well, having thus risen through dirt to dignity, he might have been content to rest upon his laurels; but now the spirit of evil is as strong in his breast as ever. One would have thought that even his appetite for mischief would have been amply satiated by the incalculable evil which he wrought during his official career in this country. He it is who was the author of this Criminal Procedure Code, bristling with hateful distinctions, only one of which it is now proposed to amend, and containing provision after provision, adverse to liberty and inconsistent with the sound and impartial administration of justice. It was he who took away from us the right of claiming the writ of Habeas Corpus, reserving it only for European British subjects. But if I were to refer to all the unjust and Draconian laws of which he was the author, I should never be done till the small hours of the morning. You also remember that he had a principal share in the insti-

tution of those Wahabi prosecutions which led to so much needless misery and suffering. In fact, his entire policy was one of repression and more repression, irritation and more irritation, until at last, by goading into frenzy a set of desperate and wicked *non-Indian* fanatics, it brought about two terrible disasters which sent a thrill of horror throughout all classes and all races of Her Majesty's Indian subjects. One of the speakers at the late meeting in Calcutta, in his anxiety to throw mud upon our people, did not hesitate to misrepresent the horrible story of the assassination of Chief Justice Norman, and the still more horrible massacre of Cavagnari and his gallant comrades. He showed his knowledge of contemporary history, and geography by describing a wild Beluchi in the one instance, and a ruffianly mob of Cabulis in the other, as natives of India. (Roars of Laughter.) Well, this is taking us considerably beyond even Lord Beaconsfield's "scientific frontier." (Loud Cheers.) But those who imagine that Armenia is an English country, may be pardoned for thinking that Beluchistan and Cabul are integral portions of India. But, gentlemen, don't be afraid that these gross misrepresentations will take root. Impartial history will declare that the guilt and shame of these deeds of turpitude do not attach to India or to her people. But, besides identifying and properly describing the barbarous perpetrators of these infamous crimes, history will attach no little responsibility to the man who was the chief author of the policy which led to two out of the three deeds of horror of which I have

spoken. Well, gentlemen, if Sir J. Stephen is not satisfied with the mischief he has already done—if his conscience is not overburdened, then nothing you or I can say is likely to make him hesitate in his baneful career. He has already richly won the curses of Indian people, which followed him across the seas, but for achievements like his there can be no fitting or truly adequate reward excepting in the world to come (Cheers).

I will now hasten to dwell upon one or two other topics, to which I think it is absolutely necessary to draw your attention. You are aware that Mr. Stanhope has given notice of a motion in the House of Commons to the effect that this Bill is calculated to inflame the jealousies of race. Now, no one can regret such a result more deeply than we, the natives of India who understand our interests too well ever to harbour in our hearts the traitor wish to see the foundations of the empire sapped by antipathies of race; and nothing could be more diametrically opposed to the intention of the noble statesman whose truly liberal policy has earned the lasting gratitude of the people of this country; and which will be hereafter regarded as the brightest page in the history of British India (Cheers). This is an attempt—a barefaced attempt—to father the sins of the opponents of the measure on its authors. The entire administration of Lord Ripon has been a noble and sustained effort, carried on amid unparalleled difficulties of which we have a glimpse, but for which, I frankly and regretfully confess, some of us, in our impatience for reforms, have not, at all times made

sufficient allowances. I say the present administration is a sustained effort to extinguish the last lingering sparks of race antagonism, and to inaugurate slowly and cautiously the reign of constitutional freedom of justice and of equality. To cast such imputations upon such a statesman can only redound with treble force upon those who make these aspersions. Nor can it be said, gentlemen, that we have stirred up this strife? It has not been of our seeking, nor have we done anything to provoke the ceaseless torrent of invective that has been poured upon us. Already the better classes of Englishmen have begun to express their indignation that some of their compatriots cannot bear to contemplate the smallest measure of justice towards the natives of this country without being roused into a state of ungovernable frenzy. Well, then, what shall we say of the authors of this wanton and unprovoked strife now attempting to turn round, and to fasten the blame of their own conduct on the Government and on the natives of India? To those who shed these crocodile tears, my answer is, "If your pretensions are so utterly hollow, if you will only consent to wear the mask of friendship and to bespatter us with your insulting patronage so long as we are content to grovel at your feet, then the sooner the mask is plucked off your faces, the better. We prefer that you should stand revealed in your true colors, and that we should know whom we have to deal with. Then delude us no more with your shallow pretences, your Christian professions of brotherhood; and your philanthropic missions—your *soirees* and At-Homes, and

all the other cheap devices to win an undeserved popularity. Above all, do not blame Mr. Ilbert's Bill which has only, like Ithuriel's spear, compelled you to assume your proper forms. Well, Sir, I confess that at the commencement of this discussion we took but a languid interest in this Bill, because we looked upon it as only a small instalment of a large debt of justice still due to us. If our zeal has been kindled, if our interest has now become intense, it is not only because our feelings have been cut to the quick by unparalleled insults, but because a broader issue has been raised,—namely, whether India is to be any longer governed on the principles laid down in the Proclamation of our gracious Queen, or whether that great Charter of our people is to be rescinded and torn up. It is because an attempt has been made, both here and in England, to shift the foundations of the Empire from the willing and loving allegiance of the natives of India, and to recognise nothing but brute force in the government of 250 millions of Her Majesty's subjects. That is an issue in which we are all deeply and vitally interested. But, gentlemen, I am not afraid that these unworthy counsels will prevail with the English nation or with a liberal House of Commons. Those who, like myself, have had the good fortune of visiting England, of having lived there for years, and who have had ample opportunities of recognizing the noble and generous instincts of that great nation, have not been dismayed or taken aback by the furious hostility of a handful of men who are unable to rise to an apprecia-

tion of their duties, and who only look upon this country as a sort of plunder ground created for their special benefit (Cheers). Depend upon it, these men and their unworthy sentiments will be repudiated by the bulk of their countrymen in England. One word more, and I have done. Although this great fight will be fought in the House of Commons, we should not sleep over our rights. We should do all that lies in us to strengthen the hands of our numerous friends and well-wishers in England and in Parliament by refuting the calumnies and misrepresentations with which it is sought to darken the real issue of the case. We should have a comprehensive organization, such has been suggested in the columns of the *Indian Mirror* embracing every presidency, every city, and every hamlet in this country. That organization should be in constant communication with our friends in England, and it should be prompt to contradict every misleading telegram that may be sent to the *London Times* by a correspondent who holds a lucrative office under the only Local Government that is hostile to this measure, and whose favour Lord Ripon, unlike his immediate predecessor, will not condescend to court. Let us make a grand effort such as is sure not only to desire, but to command success. Approach St. Stephen's and the foot of the Throne, offer your humble thanks to your beloved Sovereign for having given you a Viceroy than whom a nobler statesman never ruled over this country, and pray, from the bottom of your hearts, that his policy may be supported in England and that he himself may be spared to reign over us for some years to come (Loud cheers).

SWADESHI MOVEMENT AND PARTITION

Gentlemen,—We are met together on a most momentous occasion. I must tell you frankly that although I am no novice in public life, it was not without considerable hesitation that I accepted the honour of presiding at this meeting. And why did I hesitate? Not because I was lukewarm in the cause but because I felt distrustful of my own ability to be your spokesman on such a critical occasion. Gentlemen, when Lord Curzon came out as Viceroy of India and deluded us with some of his eloquent speeches and mellifluous phrases and flattered us by calling us his Aryan brethren, we, poor, simple, credulous Indians, "lent a too credent ear" to his seductive voice and believed that he had been sent to India as a blessing to our poor country. How far that expectation has been realised, or whether Lord Curzon has proved the reverse of a blessing to us, I shall not presume to pronounce. I shall leave that question to posterity and to history, and also to the still small voice of Lord Curzon's own conscience when he is in the retirement of his palatial island-home. Lord Macaulay, in whose local residence in Calcutta the retiring Viceroy is so much interested, said in the British House of Commons, in a celebrated speech, which will live as long as the English language

lasts and with which Lord Curzon must be perfectly familiar, that if the English nation desired to govern a great country, with a civilization more ancient than their own, their ambition should be not that the people of India should make lowly salaams to English officials but that the English people should aim at the regeneration of a great nation with a great history and that would be the greatest triumph of their rule. But after all, what has been the result of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty? Has he succeeded in enhancing the loyalty of the Indian people to the British nation? How is loyalty to be strengthened in India where an alien race rules over countless millions of people with an ancient history and with traditions and with a past, described only the other day by the Viceroy himself as mysterious?

My own ideas on the subject were freely expressed many years ago at a dinner at the National Liberal Club when the Rt. Hon'ble the Earl of Kimberley then Secretary of State for India, was President. While responding to the toast of India, I said :—" My Lord, in proportion as you pursue a policy of justice and provide a legitimate field for the gratification of our growing aspirations, you will place the loyalty of the Indian people on firm and sure foundation." (Hear, hear). And, gentlemen, I was glad to find that my opinion met with the unanimous approval of the entire audience of whom the majority was composed of Members of Parliament. My sentiments continue to be the same. At the same time having grown grey in your service, I

might have reasonably expected that at this late period of my life you might have left me alone.; because even on the continent of Europe, after a certain age, old men are left out of the conscription (Laughter). But I also feel that this is such an important national crisis that although entitled, by reason of age, to retire from the political arena, I feel that I should be wanting in my duty to my country if I did not consent to relinquish the privileges that I may have already earned. I have always consistently throughout my public life told you, my fellow-countrymen, that I have ample faith in the just instincts of the British people (Applause). That faith still continues unabated in spite of recent events. I have every reason personally to be grateful to the English people, but great and unabated as is my faith in the justice of the British nation I am bound to warn you that men do not, any more than Providence itself, shower blessings upon those who are not prepared to help themselves (Hear, hear.) Therefore, it is that I am rejoiced to find that you, gentlemen, have started this Swadeshi movement, which, if kept up and persevered in is calculated to be so beneficial to our country. (Loud cheers.) Let me, however, take this opportunity of telling our non-official English friends that this movement does not owe its origin to any feeling of resentment or revenge (Hear, hear), that it has no necessary connection with the Partition question, and that as matter of fact it was started long before the last burning question was suddenly sprung upon the unfortunate people of Bengal. The first and main object of this

movement is to develop the resources of our country and to revive the indigenous industries which have been killed by the pressure of foreign competition, and, I am compelled to add, by means of legislation which, to say the least, no one would come forward and defend to-day.

But if, at the same time, this Swadeshi movement is also calculated prominently to draw the attention of the British public to Indian political questions, which usually do not come home to them, because it is such a far cry from India to England, then it would be still more beneficial (applause). It was—said by the Corsican patriot, Paoli, that the English are a nation of shopkeepers,—a statement often erroneously attributed to the great Napoleon. However, it is an undoubted fact that the English people are a mercantile nation and everyone knows that you cannot draw the attention of “Bannias” to any question whatever which does not directly or indirectly affect their commerce or their trade.

At the same time, gentlemen,—and I now specially address myself to the younger portion of my audience—I appeal to you with all the earnestness I can command, to remember that any use of force or violence is not only to be entirely deprecated, but that it will assuredly deprive us of the sympathy of many influential friends and throw back our cause by many a long year (Hear, hear.)

I now come to the last point which we are met together to discuss, that is the shabby trick played by

Mr. Brodrick both upon India and the House of Commons. In my younger days, I had the ambition as you are aware, of serving my country by entering the British House of Commons. But although like the leader of a forlorn hope, I myself failed in the attempt, my political corpse, so to speak, served as a stepping stone to those of my countrymen who afterwards succeeded in scaling the walls of St. Stephen's. I have only parenthetically reminded you of this incident in my personal career because on that occasion I was obliged to carefully study the procedure of Parliament. At that time, the great men in Parliament on both sides were immeasurable giants. Gladstone and Bright (loud cheers), Northcote and others upheld the high traditions of the British Parliament which until recently were held in the greatest esteem by the whole of the civilized world. In those days, we had no such pitiful spectacle as tricksters amongst Cabinet Ministers. Yet, gentlemen, we are told that we have to learn veracity from the West (laughter and loud cheers). It seems to me that some of these apostles of Western truthfulness ought to brush up their study of European history in order to learn that the Western standard of veracity is by no means higher than what they are pleased to call Oriental Diplomacy (Hear, hear.) The official position of some of these gentlemen is too high for an humble individual like myself to presume to engage in a personal contest with them but if in the political arena, all men with the requisite knowledge are equally qualified to enter the lists, then I should like very respectfully to

remind them of a few historical facts. Are they aware that when in the early part of the Nineteenth Century the Emperor of the French appointed one of his favourite Generals as ambassador to the Court of Lisbon, the General went to the Emperor and begged to be relieved of his new dignity on the ground that he was a blunt and truthful soldier and he could not stoop to the tricks and wiles of diplomacy? To this Napoleon, no mean judge of character replied, "My friend, be what you have ever been—a blunt, frank and truthful soldier." Truth is the best agent of diplomacy (Hear, hear). We also know that sixty-five years later, Prince Bismarck openly and cynically boasted that he himself had found that the best way of deceiving the Court of France was by telling the truth. We also have on the authority of Lord Rosebury in his work on Napoleon that truth was not considered at all important in Continental Europe. Lord Rosebury as a patriotic Englishman excepts his own country from the condemnation which he pronounces against the continent of Europe.

But we have other evidence to show that English statesmen are no more free from this imputation than the statesmen of Continental Europe. The late John Bright said on a famous occasion, speaking of Mr. Disraeli, that the Rt. Hon'ble Gentleman's historical references were not to be found in any known historical work but that he seemed like the spider to spin a yarn and with that yarn to weave a web and with that web to catch flies (Laughter) and the only difference with which Mr. Bright was struck, was that the Tory fly

seemed to like being caught. I now come to a later instance, that of Lord Salisbury, the last Tory Prime Minister, when he was Foreign Secretary. Upon its being rumoured that the Cyprus Convention had been arranged, there was a great agitation in the public press, both Conservative and Liberal. In answer to a question put to him in the House of Lords, he solemnly rose in his place and assured his peers that there was no foundation whatever for the rumour in the newspapers. His assurance was received with cheers in the House of Lords. But within a day or two one of the confidential clerks of the Foreign Office divulged to the world the startling fact that at the very moment the noble Marquis was assuring the House of Lords that the rumour was unfounded, he had the draft of the Convention in his pocket. Charles Marvin was, I believe, dismissed from the Foreign Office, but the English vocabulary was enriched. A vulgar word has disappeared, at least from fashionable usage, and there came into existence the aristocratic word Salisbury (laughter). Well, neither H. E. the retiring Viceroy nor his official superior Mr. Brodrick can disavow their great leaders Disraeli and Salisbury. Such are the traditions with which they have got to struggle. But apart from this how are they themselves entitled to teach us lessons of truth? The *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* has sufficiently dealt with His Excellency Lord Curzon. I only desire to say only one word about Mr. Brodrick—what has been his conduct in the House of Commons? On one occasion he assured the House when he was in receipt of a conditional

resignation from Lord Curzon, that there was no foundation in the rumour that the Viceroy had sent in his resignation. Under what code of ethics could such a statement be justified? If such is the standard of Western veracity I am glad that ours is different. On a latter occasion he promised to supply the House with the necessary information to enable it to form its judgment and yet without keeping his word and behind the back of the House of Commons he has sanctioned the scheme of partition in a most indecent hurry. He has thus violated all the traditions of the mother of Parliaments and done his best to destroy the high reputation which the British Parliament has so long enjoyed, *not only within its own dominion but in all foreign lands.*



Justice Budruddin Tyabji

BUDRUDIN TYABJI

Of the many great sons that India has produced in modern times, Mr. Budrudin Tyabji deservedly holds a high place. He belonged to a much respected Arab family settled long ago at Bombay. His father, Tyabji Bhai Miyan Saheb, was a prosperous merchant and a cultured gentleman with refined tastes. Mr. Tyabji was born on 8th October 1844. He received his early education at Dada Makhra's Madrassa where he learnt Urdu and Persian. He then entered the Elphinstone Institution (now College) at Bombay, the nursery of many a Western Indian patriot. He was not, however, long there when his father sent him to France for treatment of the eye. From there he went across to England and in 1860 joined the Newbury High Park College, London. He matriculated at the London University but had to return to India immediately afterwards owing to failing health. In 1865, after a few years' stay at his paternal home, he returned to England and joined the Middle Temple and was called to the Bar in April 1867. In November following he returned to India and was in December next enrolled an Advocate of the High Court of Judicature at Bombay. His brother, Camurdin Tyabji, was an Attorney of the same Court and so Tyabji commenced his legal career under better auspices than most

other men of the time. The Bar then was mostly made up of European lawyers and Tyabji had up-hill work to do before he won recognition. His application to work was great and his fluency of speech and skilful advocacy soon brought him to the front. He early made a name for himself as a searching and capable cross-examiner. An incident mentioned by Mr. Parekh well shows the respect he had won for himself from the eminent Sir Michael Westropp, then Chief Justice of Bombay. That Judge presided over a Criminal Sessions, in which Mr. Tyabji defended a prisoner. He conducted the case ably and obtained from the Jury a verdict of "not guilty" in favour of his client, who was accordingly acquitted. The next morning the *Bombay Gazette* described in unworthy terms his speech for the defence. Justice Westropp, however, publicly repudiated the criticism. "Mr. Tyabji," he said, "I am glad to see you here, and also the Reporter of the *Bombay Gazette*, as I wish to make some observations upon the report of the case which was concluded yesterday. The paper represents you to have made 'a rigmarole and nonsensical speech' in defence of your client. As these remarks are not only unfair but likely to do harm to a young Barrister I deem it my duty to observe that, in my opinion, there is not the slightest foundation for those remarks. I consider the case was most ably conducted by you, and that the acquittal of the prisoner was mainly due to the ability and skill with which you addressed the jury.

The first decade in the public life of Mr. Tyabji after

He joined the Bar was one of incessant work in Chambers and in Court. The second decade commenced with the addition of new responsibilities. In May 1879, he joined other prominent citizens of Bombay in memorialising Parliament against the abolition of the import duties on Manchester goods. The speech he then made was hailed with applause from every quarter and was but the forerunner of many others from the fluent tongued young Mahomedan of thirty-five. In 1882 Sir James Fergusson, then Governor of Bombay, appointed him an additional member of the Legislative Council. He took a prominent part in the debates of the Bombay Local Boards and Municipality's Bills. His speeches established for him a reputation for close reasoning, sober judgment, lucid exposition and magnetic eloquence. Sir James, as President of the Council, publicly complimented him for his admirable speeches which, he remarked, would have been listened with rapt attention even by such an august assembly as the British House of Commons. Thenceforward, Mr. Tyabji became a great favourite with Bombay audiences. He was in request at every public meeting convened in that great town. Amongst the speeches he then made must be singled out three which even now may be read with the greatest delight. These are—his speech on the Indian Civil Service question delivered in 1883 in the Framjee Cowasjee Hall, his speech on the Native Jurisdiction Bill delivered in the same year in the Town Hall at Bombay and in the same historic hall the speech he made on Lord Ripon's memorable administration in

December 1884. They have one and all been declared to be models of chaste eloquence. Only one extract from the last of these three deserves to be set down here. "Amongst so many beneficent measures," said he, speaking of Lord Ripon's Local Self-Government scheme, "any single one of which would suffice to render Lord Ripon's administration illustrious there was one which stood forth pre-eminent, and which would render Lord Ripon's name immortal in the annals of this country. (Loud cheers). It was the scheme of Local Self-Government. It was, indeed, difficult to to appreciate, at present, the full extent of the blessing which such a momentous scheme as that was calculated to confer upon India. Much would depend upon the manner in which it was adopted by the various local Governments and administrations. A great deal must necessarily depend upon the people themselves, and not a little upon the encouragement, support and countenance it might receive at the hands of local officials. But of this, at least he felt convinced, that it was a scheme which was eminently calculated to raise them in the scale of political education to draw closer together the bonds between the official and the non-official classes, to bring into harmony the Europeans and the Natives, to attach the people of this country to their dear Sovereign."

Mr. Tyabji's public services were recognised by his countrymen by conferring on him the Presidentship of the Congress in 1887. That was the first Madras Congress. The masterly address he then delivered is:

remarkable for this that it showed he had the fire of the orator in him. He was at the time a member of the Bombay Anjuman-i-Islam and his acceptance of the Congress principles and politics showed once for all that there was nothing in it to be afraid of by his brethren in religion. He ever afterwards stood firm to the Congress cause. Once, it is well-remembered, he administered a well-merited rebuke from his seat on the Bench to a person who spoke ill of it. In 1903, presiding over the deliberations of the Mahomedan Educational Conference, he openly declared that it had not been for him so far "to take any part in connection with any institution which had or could be supposed to have the slightest trace of being hostile or antagonistic to the Congress." He was of opinion that the Government though it did not openly profess its sympathy with the Congress, had really at heart a very high opinion of it and its members and gave effect from time to time to its Resolutions. "Government are," he said, "desirous of giving effect to them (the Congress Resolutions) and to the desires of the nation as expressed through the Congress." But he believed firmly in moderation of demands and speech and caution in the employment of language. "Our countrymen," he once remarked, "have not wholly realised the distinction between 'licence' and 'liberty' and have not wholly grasped the fact that 'freedom' has its responsibilities no less than its privileges."

Mr. Tyabji was a pioneer in the social reform movement among the Indian Mahomedans. He was

even of opinion that Indians as a whole, both Hindus and Mahomedans, paid greater attention to political than to social reform. "I am afraid," he remarked once, "that young India has fixed its attention too exclusively upon politics, and too little upon education and social reform. I am one of those who think that our improvement and progress lies not in our efforts simply in one direction, but in various directions, and that we ought to move side by side for the purpose of improving our social status and our educational status quite as much as our political status. It is no use labouring together for a representative Government of a very advanced type if the majority of our countrymen are still steeped in ignorance, and experience shows that the majority of the Indian subjects have not appreciated the advantages of that higher education upon which, I think, the fate of our nation really rests." He set a personal example in social reform by commencing its practice in his own family. His own daughters went and studied in England. But his best work for his co-religionists was done by him in his capacity of Secretary, and afterwards President, of the Bombay Anjuman-i-Islam, an organisation which has helped the spread of Western education amongst Mahomedans. At the time it was started Bombay had hardly any educated Mahomedans and if now there are numbers of them, the result is in no small measure due to the unremitting zeal of a single man—Mr. Budrudin Tyabji.

His work as a public man and his greatness as a

lawyer was recognised by Government in 1895, when it offered him a Judgeship of the High Court of Bombay. In his new capacity Mr. Tyabji shone equally well. His tenure of office as Judge was marked by a sturdy independence which was all his own. His action in granting bail to Mr. Tilak when the first case was launched against him ten years ago is enough to show this remarkable trait of the man. On the Bench he was cool and judicious and to the Bar he was ever courteous. His intimate knowledge of business life in Bombay enabled him to penetrate deep into the heart of litigation. The quickness with which he made up his mind on matters of law and fact, was highly creditable. His judgments are remarkable for the vigour and force of language. He marshalls his facts with extraordinary lucidity, and whatever conclusions he arrives at are the results of his reflection and study of the subject of the case.

Mahomedans all over India conceived it their duty in 1903 to request him to preside over the deliberations of their Educational Conference, which in that year assembled at Bombay. Mr. Tyabji responded to the call and the address he then delivered was quite characteristic of him. It was open-hearted and independent and made a powerful plea for the slackening of the rigour of the purdah system. It was in this speech that he said that so far he had found it impossible to sympathise with any movement that might be supposed to have the slightest trace of being hostile to the Congress—a well meant repudiation of the principles of the Aligarh

politicians. He took a kindly interest in the Aligarh College, however for education was ever his theme with his co-religionists. While in England in 1906, he attended the dinner of the College Association and pleaded for its funds. He was in favour of turning it into a University with Schools and Colleges everywhere in the peninsula to feed and maintain it in vigour. He pointed out on the occasion the great necessity for not neglecting female education which so far has made little headway in Northern India. "Permit me," he said, "the friendly criticism that they seem to have greatly neglected the cause of female education. This is a reproach to men of their enlightenment, and I have noticed with the greatest pleasure that recently efforts have been made to remedy that state of things. This is a reform in respect to which my Mussalman friends in the North may not despise to take a leaf out of the book of their co-religionists in Bombay. I need only add that I hope the College will develop into a real centre of Moslem education and enlightenment not merely for the North-west but for all India. There is not a Mussalman in India, certainly not in Bombay, who does not wish all prosperity and success to Aligarh." His culture and love of education pervaded even his religion. Speaking at the East India Association in the year of his death, he made pointed reference to the old-fashioned manner in which Mahomedans yet made their bequests. "Look at the Mussalmans," he remarked, "I have often in my judicial capacity had to deal with wills made and executed by my own people.

and I have found that a very wealthy individual who dies, if he has no near relations, has one idea—to devote his fortune to some old-fashioned charity—such as the feeding of fakirs, the building of old-fashioned tanks, or making pilgrimages to Mecca, or reading so many hundreds of times the pages of the Koran or things of that kind—very excellent things in themselves, but which unfortunately, do not advance the fortunes of a nation. Now, if when young India becomes old and is about to make its will, it will only remember, instead of leaving its fortunes to these old-fashioned charities, to devote its fortune to the advance of education, I think we should have very much less cause of complaint against Government, because probably we should be able to do that ourselves which we now ask Government to do.”

In 1906, Mr. Tyabji's old eye complaint reappeared. He sailed to England early in that year and there put himself under medical treatment. In a few months, his health improved rapidly and he was strong enough to take active part in meetings connected with India. The speeches referred to above were made at this time, and they show the old vigour, spirit and love of country that pervades his earlier deliverances. But unknown to all except his own doctor, he was suffering from an affection of the heart to which he succumbed on 19th August 1906. In him India lost a

“Glorious model of a mighty creed
Where all mankind is one united whole

Wherein nor caste nor race distinctions breed
Dissensions internecine full of dole."

All the prominent Mahomedans present in England attended the memorial Service held on 22nd. August. At the public meeting which followed it the Turkish Consul-General presided and a Resolution was passed expressing heart-felt sorrow at the loss the community had sustained by his death. Speaking of the catholicity of the sympathy shown by him, Mr. Yusuf Ali, I.C.S., justly observed that no Mahomedan was better beloved among the Hindus than he was. The strength of this position lay in this—that he never divorced social ideals from his most ardent political dreams. He was always sincere and what he preached he practised, carrying out in public and in family life the ideals and principles he so consistently advocated. Perhaps, no better tribute can be given him than that which is contained in the Resolution of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress passed at a meeting a week after his death. The Resolution was proposed by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and seconded by Mr. Gokhale, both Bombay men and perhaps, the best entitled to speak of him. "The British Committee of the Indian National Congress," the Resolution went, "desire to record their deep sense of the loss sustained by India in the death of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Tyabji. The administration of justice found in him a wise and learned Judge while he was an unfailing supporter of every good movement tending to the peace,

progress, and welfare of the Indian people. No less do they lament the loss of a private friend whose goodness of heart and general sympathy had endeared him to all who had the privilege of his acquaintance." So true, so simple and yet so just. Mr. Tyabji's body was embalmed and brought by steamship to Bombay and from there conveyed to Badar Bagh in solemn procession to the graveyard and there interred after due performance of the religious rites prescribed for the occasion. So passed away a true and a great Indian and when shall we see the like of him again?

THIRD INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1887

Presidential Address of Mr. B. Tyabji

Rajah Sir T. Madhava Rao and Gentlemen,—I thank you most sincerely for the very great honour you have done me by electing me President of this great national assembly (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, it is impossible not to feel proud of the great distinction you have thus conferred upon me, the greatest distinction which it is in your power to confer upon any one of your countrymen (*Loud and continued applause.*) Gentlemen, I have had the honour of witnessing great public meetings both in Bombay and elsewhere, but it is quite a novel sensation for me to appear before a meeting of this description—a meeting composed not merely of the representatives of any one city or even of one province—but of the whole of the vast continent of India, representing not any one class or interest but all classes (*Hear, hear and applause*) and all interests of the almost innumerable different communities that constitute the people of India (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, I had not the good fortune to be present at the proceedings of the first Congress, held in Bombay in 1885, nor had I the good fortune to take part in the deliberations of the second Congress held in Calcutta last

year. But, gentlemen, I have carefully read the Proceedings of both those Congresses, and I have no hesitation in declaring that they display an amount of talent, wisdom and eloquence of which we have every reason to be proud. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, from the proceedings of the two past Congresses, I think if we are fairly entitled to hope that the proceedings of this present Congress will not only be marked by those virtues, but by that moderation and by that sobriety of judgment which is the offspring of political wisdom and political experience (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, all the friends and well-wishers of India, and all those who take an interest in watching over the progress and prosperity of our people, have every reason to rejoice at the increasing success of each succeeding Congress. At the first Congress in Bombay, in 1885, we had less than 100 representatives from the different parts of India, in the second Congress, at Calcutta, in 1886, we had as many as 440 representatives, while at this Congress, I believe, we have over 600 delegates (*Applause*) representing all the different parts and all the different communities of this great empire. I think, then, gentlemen, that we are fairly entitled to say that this is a truly representative national gathering. (*Hear, hear and applause.*) Indeed, if that tentative form of representative institution which has so often been asked for from Government, were granted to us, I have not the smallest doubt but that many of the gentlemen I now have the honor of addressing would be elected by their respective constituencies to represent their interests (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen, it has been urged in derogation of our character, as a representative national gathering, that one great and important community—the Mussalman community—has kept aloof from the proceedings of the two last Congresses. Now, gentlemen, in the first place, this is only partially true, and applies only to one particular part of India, and is moreover due to certain special, and local, temporary causes (*Hear, hear and applause*) and in the second place no such approach can, I think, with any show of justice, be urged against this present Congress, (*Applause*) and gentlemen, I must honestly confess to you that one great motive which has induced me, in the present state of my health, to undertake the grave responsibilities of presiding over your deliberations, has been an earnest desire, on my part, to prove, as far as in my power lies, that I, at least, not merely in my individual capacity, but as representing the Anjuman-i-Islam of Bombay (*Loud applause*), do not consider that there is anything whatever in the position or the relations of the different communities of India, —be they Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsees, or Christians— which should induce the leaders of any one community to stand aloof from the others in their efforts to obtain those great general reforms, those great general rights which are for the common benefit of us all (*Hear, hear and applause*) and which, I feel assured, have only to be earnestly and unanimously pressed upon Government to be granted to us. Gentlemen, it is undoubtedly true that each one of our great Indian communities has its own peculiar, social, moral, educa-

tional and even political difficulties to surmount—but so far as general political questions affecting the whole of India, such as those which alone are discussed by this Congress—are concerned, I, for one, am utterly at a loss to understand, why Mussalmans should not work shoulder to shoulder (*Hear, hear and applause*) with their fellow-countrymen, of other races and creeds, for the common benefit of all (*Applause*). Gentlemen, this is the principle on which we, in the Bombay Presidency, have always acted and from the number, the character, the position, and the attainments of Mussalman delegates from the Bengal Presidency and from the Presidency of Madras, as well as from the North-West Provinces and the Punjab, I have not the smallest doubt that this is also the view held, with but few, though, perhaps, important exceptions, by the leaders of the Mussalman communities throughout the whole of India (*Hear, hear and applause*). Gentlemen, it has been urged as a slur upon our loyalty that this Congress is composed of what are called the educated natives of India. Now, if by this it is intended to be conveyed, that we are merely a crowd of people with nothing but our education to commend us, if it is intended to be conveyed that the gentry, the nobility, and the aristocracy of the land have kept aloof from us, I can only meet that assertion by the most direct and the most absolute denial (*Hear, hear and applause*). To any person who made that assertion I should feel inclined to say, come with me into this Hall (*Applause*) and look around you, (*Applause*) and tell me where you could wish to see a

better representation of the aristocracy not only of birth and of wealth, but of intellect, education and position, than you see gathered within the walls of this Hall (*Applause.*) But, gentlemen, if no such insinuation is intended to be made, I should only say that I am happy to think that this Congress does consist of the educated natives of India (*Hear, hear.*)

Gentlemen, I, for one, am proud to be called not only educated but a "native" of this country (*Applause and hear, hear.*) And, gentlemen, I should like to know where among all the millions of Her Majesty's subjects in India are to be found more truly loyal, nay, more devoted friends of the British Empire than among these educated natives (*Loud and continued applause.*) Gentlemen, to be a true and a sincere friend of the British Government, it is necessary that one should be in a position to appreciate the great blessings, which that Government has conferred upon us, and I should like to know who is in a better position to appreciate these blessings—the ignorant peasants or the educated natives? Who, for instance, will better appreciate the advantages of good roads, railways, telegraphs and post offices, schools, colleges and universities, hospitals, good laws and impartial courts of justice? The educated natives or the ignorant peasants of this country? (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, if there ever were to arise—which God forbid—any great struggle between Russia and Great Britain for supremacy in this country—who is more likely to judge better of the relative merits of the two empires? (*Hear, hear.*)

Again I say, gentlemen, that in these matters it is the educated natives that are best qualified to judge, because it is we who know and are best able to appreciate—for instance,—the blessings of the right of public meeting, the liberty of action and of speech, and high education which we enjoy under Great Britain, whereas, probably, under Russia we should have nothing but a haughty and despotic Government whose chief glory would consist in vast military organization, aggression upon our neighbours, and great military exploits (*Applause*).

No, gentlemen, let our opponents say what they please, we, the educated natives by the mere force of our education, must be the best appreciators of the blessings of a civilized and enlightened Government, and, therefore, in our own interest, the best and staunchest supporters of the British Government in India (*Applause*). But, gentlemen, do those who thus charge us with disloyalty stop for a moment to consider the full meaning and effect of their argument,—do they realize the full import and significance of the assertions they make? Do they understand that, in charging us with disloyalty, they are, in reality, condemning and denouncing the very Government which it is their intention to support? (*Hear, hear, loud and continued applause*). For, gentlemen, when they say that the educated natives of India are disloyal, what does it mean? It means this: that in the opinion of the educated natives,—that is to say, of all the men of light and leading, all those who have received a sound, liberal and enlightened education, all those who are acquainted with the history of their

own country and with the nature of the present and past governments, that in the opinion of all these—the English Government is so bad that it has deserved to forfeit the confidence and the loyalty of the thinking part of the population. (*Hear, hear and applause*). Now, gentlemen, is it conceivable that a more frightful and unjust condemnation of the British Government can be pronounced than is implied in this charge of disloyalty against the educated natives of India? Gentlemen, if this charge were brought by some bitter enemies of Great Britain, if it were brought by the Russians, for example, I could understand it (*Hear, hear*). But it is almost beyond my comprehension that it should come, not from the enemies, but from the supposed friends of the British Government (*Loud laughter and hear, hear*), not from the Russians, but from Englishmen (*Hear, hear*), who presumably want, not to destroy, but to support their Government! I say it surpasses my comprehension. Gentlemen, just consider for a moment the effect of this reckless allegation upon the uneducated millions of the inhabitants of this country, upon the hordes of the Russians in the North, and upon the enlightened nations of Europe! I say, therefore, that the conduct of those who thus recklessly charge us with disloyalty resembles the conduct of the “foolish woodman” who was lopping off the very branch of the tree upon which he was standing unconscious that the destruction of the branch meant the destruction of himself. (*Applause and laughter*).

Happily, however, gentlemen, this allegation is as

absurd as it is unfounded. It is as unjust to us as it is unjust to the Government it impeaches. But though, gentlemen, I maintain that the educated natives, as a class, are loyal to the backbone (*Hear, hear*), I must yet admit that some of our countrymen are not always guarded, not always cautious, in the language they employ. I must admit that some of them do sometimes afford openings for hostile criticisms, and I must say that I have myself observed in some of the Indian newspapers and in the speeches of public speakers, sentiments and expressions which are calculated to lead one to the conclusion that they have not fully realised the distinction between licence and liberty; that they have not wholly grasped the lesson, that freedom has its responsibilities no less than its privileges (*Hear, hear*). And, therefore, gentlemen, I trust that not only during the debates of this Congress but on all occasions, we shall ever bear in mind and ever impress upon our countrymen that, if we are to enjoy the right of public discussion, the liberty of speech and liberty of the press, we must so conduct ourselves as to demonstrate by our conduct, by our moderation, by the justness of our criticisms, that we fully deserve those—the greatest blessings which an enlightened Government can confer upon its subjects. (*Hear, hear and applause*).

Gentlemen, it has been sometimes urged that Europeans in this country do not fully sympathise with the just aspirations of the natives of India. In the first place, this is not universally true, because I have the good fortune to know many Europeans than whom truer or

more devoted friends of India do not breathe on the face of the earth. (*Hear, hear and applause*). And, in the second place, we must be prepared to make very considerable allowances for our European fellow-subjects because their position in this country is surrounded by difficult and complicated questions not merely of a political but of a social character which tend more or less to keep the two communities asunder, in spite of the best efforts of the leaders of European no less than of native society. Gentlemen, so long as our European friends come to this country as merely temporary residents, so long as they come here merely for the purposes of trade, commerce or of a profession, so long as they do not look upon India as a country in whose welfare they are permanently interested, so long it will be impossible for us to expect that the majority of the Europeans should fraternize with us upon all great public questions (*Hear, hear*), and it has, therefore, always seemed to me that one of the greatest the most difficult, the most complicated and at the same time one of the most important problems to be solved is how to make our European friends look upon India as in some sense their own country, even by adoption. For, gentlemen, if we could but induce our retired merchants, engineers, doctors, solicitors, barristers, judges and civilians to make India permanently their home what an amount of talent and ability, political experience and ripe judgment, we should retain in India, for the benefit of us all (*Applause*). All those great questions in regard to the financial drain on India and

those questions arising from jealousy of races and the rivalry from public employment—would at once disappear. And when we speak of the poverty of India, because of the draining away of vast sums of money from India to England, it has always seemed to me strange, that so little thought should be bestowed upon the question of the poverty of our resources caused by the drain of so many men of public political and intellectual eminence from our shores every year (*Applause*).

Now, gentlemen, one word as to the scope of our action and deliberations. It has been urged—solemnly urged—as an objection against our proceedings—that this Congress does not discuss the question of Social Reform. But, gentlemen, this matter has already been fully dealt with by my friend, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who presided over your deliberations last year. And I must confess that the objection seems to me strange, seeing that this Congress is composed of the representatives, not of any one class or community, not of one part of India, but of all the different parts, and of all different classes, and of all the different communities of India. Whereas any question of Social Reform must of necessity affect some particular part of some particular community of India only,—and therefore, gentlemen, it seems to me, that although, we, Mussalmans, have our own social problems to solve, just as our Hindu and Parsee friends have theirs, yet these questions can be best dealt with by the leaders of the particular communities to which they relate (*Applause*). I, therefore, think, gentlemen, that the only wise, and, indeed, the

only possible course we can adopt is to confine our discussions to such questions as affect the whole of India at large, and to abstain from the discussion of questions that affect a particular community only (*Loud Applause.*)

Gentlemen, I do not, at present at least, propose to say anything upon the various problems that will be submitted to you for your consideration. I have no doubt that the questions will be discussed in a manner and in a spirit that will reflect credit upon us all. I will only say this : be moderate in your demands, be just in your criticism, be accurate in your facts, be logical in your conclusion, and you may be rest assured that any propositions you make to our rulers will be received with that benign consideration which is the characteristic of a strong and enlightened Government. (*Applause.*) And now, gentlemen, I fear, I have already trespassed (*voices of 'no, no,'*) too long upon your time. Before I sit down, I will once more offer to you my thanks from the very bottom of my heart for the very great honor you have done me, and I pray to God that I may be enabled, in some measure, at least, to deserve your approbation and justify the choice you have made and the confidence you have reposed in me (*Loud applause.*) Gentlemen, I wish this Congress and all succeeding Congresses, every success and every prosperity (*Applause.*)

I am very glad to see the representatives of so many different communities and part of India gathered together this afternoon before us. This, in itself, gentlemen, is

no small advantage that we, as representatives of the different parts of India, should have the opportunity of meeting and discussing together the various problems that affect us all (*Applause*). Gentlemen, I will not take up much more of your time, I say, as our Chairman, Sir T. Madhava Rao has said—I welcome you here—but at the same time I cannot help expressing my deep regret, a regret that I know you all share, that on this occasion we are deprived of the aid and counsel of some of those gentlemen who laboured most earnestly for and who graced with their presence the Congress on previous occasions, and who have now, all too soon for their country's sake, passed from amongst us. Among the friends we have lost are Dr. Athalye of Bombay who took such an energetic part in the first Congress, held in Bombay, in the year 1885, and Mr. Girija Bhushan Mookerjee, whom you all know, and whom all who knew loved and respected, and who was one of the most active workers for the Congress held in Calcutta last year. Then, too, we have to mourn the loss of Mr. Dayaram Jethmall, the founder of the National Party in Sind, and a distinguished gentleman belonging to this Presidency, (though I fear I am not in a position to pronounce his name correctly), Mr. Singaraju Venkata Subbarayudu of Masulipatam. But to all these gentlemen, of whose assistance and guidance we have been deprived, we must owe a lasting debt of gratitude. They, in their lifetime, spared no pains to make the Congress, either in Bombay or Calcutta, a success, as far as in their power lay, and it only remains for us, while

cherishing their memories to emulate their example
(*Loud and continued applause*).

Gentlemen, in addition to those of you, who have been able to come to Madras, we have received numerous letters and telegrams from associations of various kinds, and from a large number of representative men in other parts of India, who, for some reason or other, have been debarred from being represented at or attending this Congress. We have received telegrams from Hyderabad, from all kinds of places in the Madras Presidency,—the names of which I shall not venture to pronounce,—from Karachi, Calcutta, Dehra Dun, Sambhur, Bangalore, Dacca, from His Highness the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Messrs. Lal Mohun and Manomohan Ghose, Mr. Telang, and a vast number of other places, and persons, too numerous for me to pretend to recapitulate. There are no less than sixty and odd telegrams alone placed before me. But, gentlemen, there is one among those which I am particularly anxious to bring to your notice, and that is from our old and distinguished friend, Mr. Atkins, whom by name, at least, I have not the smallest doubt, every one of us here perfectly knows. (*Applause*). Gentlemen, in his telegram, he wishes this Congress and all future Congresses perfect success. (*Applause*). He wishes that unity of the different communities should be promoted and that the objects which we all have at heart should be attained. (*Applause*.) I think you will be of opinion that that is a very good omen. We want the assistance not only of representative men of

the Indian communities, but we also want the assistance of Europeans. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, while we are attempting to learn some few lessons in the art of Self-Government, our European friends have inherited that art from their forefathers after centuries of experience, and it cannot be doubted that if we can induce our European friends to co-operate with us in these various political matters, which in point of fact affect them no less than they affect us, it cannot, I say, be doubted that it will conduce to the advantage, not only of ourselves, but of the European community also. (*Loud Applause.*)

MR. JUSTICE TYABJI ON THE NATIVE
PRESS, BOMBAY, 8TH JULY, 1896.

Gentlemen:—The object of my convening this meeting is to express our abhorrence of the recent murders at Poona, and to denounce the seditious, disloyal, defamatory and mischievous writings in the Urdu newspapers. Every loyal citizen must mourn the dastardly murders and must sympathise with the families of the murdered people and with Government whom they served so well. Our duty is plain enough. We range ourselves firmly and decidedly on the side of Government and order. We denounce the miscreants and their horrible deeds. We pray they may be speedily brought to justice and receive the punishment they so richly deserve. It is fortunate that no suspicion rests on the Mussalmans. This is due to their well-known loyalty, to the good sense and moderation of their leaders, and to the absence of any disloyal or seditious writings on their part at Poona. Fortunately there are not so far as I know, any Islami papers at Poona against which charges of disaffection or sedition can be brought. Can we say the same thing regarding all Urdu newspapers published in Bombay? I acknowledge with pride and satisfaction that, if we take India as a whole the Mussalman newspapers are

singularly free from seditious writings. I can say the same thing of many of the Mussalman newspapers published in Bombay. Unfortunately, however, there are black sheep among us in Bombay. There are some papers, the editors of which seem to have no conception of their real duties. Their sole object is to malign and defame everybody provided only he is respectable and enjoys the esteem of his fellow-subjects or does his duty either as an officer of Government or as an honest public spirited and high-minded citizen. Government collectively, and the highest and most prominent officers of Government individually, are the subjects of outrageous attacks for which there can be suggested no possible justification. I do not believe they know the meaning of "disaffection," for which the offender is liable to be transported for life under Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code. They confound liberty with licence, and criticism with abuse. These papers are published by ignorant men with absolutely no knowledge of public affairs or the motives of Government and the springs which move Government. They have no sense of their responsibility and do not appear to understand the meaning or force or effect or tendency of the words they so glibly employ. They seem to think that the more they misrepresent the actions of Government or the motives of public officers, the stronger and fouler the language they use, the better their papers sell. This is all they care for. The writers, I know, take deliberate and malicious advantage of the fact that they are too contemptible to be taken notice of either by Government

or by private individuals. The contemptuous tolerance has, however, had a most pernicious effect upon these papers. They have become bolder and more hardened and more violent and outrageous. It is true that their scandalous writings do not circulate among the respectable classes. But, unfortunately, they circulate among the lower, more ignorant, more excitable, more inflammatory portion of our community. They are read in bazaars and the coffee houses, and the more violent their language, the more eagerly they are purchased. Is not this a great evil? Is it not the duty of Government and of all loyal and honest citizens to put it down? Has it not reached a point when tolerance is likely to be mistaken for weakness? What, then, is the remedy. Am I an advocate of repressive legislation? Am I suggesting the curtailment of liberty of speech by any new enactment? Certainly not. The whole object of my convening this meeting is to prove that there is no need for any such measures, that the remedy lies ready in the hands of Government and of the community, and that it has only to be used and applied to put an end to this evil. So far as Government is concerned I believe the present law is amply sufficient. It gives perfect freedom of speech, but punishes disaffection, that is to say, punishes malicious attempts to produce in the minds of people feelings of enmity, or hatred, or discontent against Government. What I should advise is this. Let bygones be bygones, but let Government, let us all watch the newspapers carefully in the future. If these seditious and defamatory writings are

continued let the writers be prosecuted. We shall then see whether the present law is sufficient or not. I myself believe that there would not be the slightest difficulty in obtaining a conviction of the miscreants I have in view. But, gentlemen, in a case like this, it is not to Government that we ought to look. We have the remedy in our own hands. If none of us read them, or tolerated them directly or indirectly, these wretched papers would cease to exist to-morrow. It is to you, then, and to those whom you can influence, it is to the good common sense and to the loyalty to the community at large, it is to their sense of fairness, justice and honesty and leniency far more than to any repressive legislation that I look for the extinction of this growing evil.



Bal Gangadhar Tilak

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

At other times and in other countries the hero of this biography would have occupied one of the most honoured places in the temple of scholarship, and would have enriched the reputation of his land for deep erudition and unwearied industry by works of surpassing merit and originality. But the gods decreed otherwise, and one who was born to adorn the arts of peace and culture has been dragged from the learned seclusion of his study and plunged into the vortex of politics, with the inevitable fate awaiting all those who work for the better ordering of the affairs of their country. His life possesses all the materials for a political romance. Starting life with the light of the unclouded Sun shining on his path, he has lived to see the shadows lengthening and the storm raging around him. But during all this period of incessant activity he has never for one moment faltered in the course pointed out to him by the hand of destiny and the impulse of his own passionate nature. No figure in modern Indian politics rouses such contradictory emotions as Mr. Tilak. To the Indian belonging to his own political party, he is the hero who is to be followed implicitly. To the Indian of the opposite political school, he is the very incarna-

tion of misguided activity and unalloyed selfishness. Friend and foe alike confess that he is an extraordinary man whose personality contains the magic charm of drawing round him the enthusiastic admiration of thousands.

He was born at Ratnagiri on 23rd July 1856, and his ancestors had distinguished themselves in Mahratta history. He had in his father, Mr. Gangadhar Ramachandra Tilak, a man of great ability and learning who was at first an Assistant Teacher at Ratnagiri and the Deputy Educational Inspector at Thana and Poona. The son inherited from his father his love of teaching and mathematical powers. The death of the father in 1872 left the son at the age of 16 without the help and solicitude which a father alone knows how to shew towards the child of his affection. After passing the Entrance Examination, he joined the Deccan College from which he graduated with honors in 1876. He then took the study of law and obtained the LL. B. Degree in 1879. It was at this most impressionable period when dreams of goodness float in the mind of youth that Mr. Tilak came into contact with Mr. Agarkar, and the two young men resolved to abjure all desire for Government service and matured a plan for the establishment of a School and College to impart chief education. The two enthusiastic workers met with no encouragement in the beginning, but they found at last in Mr. Vishnu Krishna Chiplankar, a man of similar aspirations and the most famous Marathi prose writer of the day, a sympathetic comrade. The Poona New English School

was ushered into existence on 2nd January 1880 by Messrs. Tilak, Chiplankar and M. B. Namjoshi, who were before the close of the year strengthened by the addition of Mr. V. S. Apte, M.A., and Mr. Agarkar, M.A. The Maratha Pandavas, as they might be fitly called, they had energy left in them for the starting of two newspapers the *Maharatta* and the *Kesari* which were printed at the Arya Bhushan Press established by Mr. Chiplankar. The conductors of the infant journals had soon to taste the consequences of unflinching criticism. They boldly criticized the action of the Kharbhari of the State of Kolhapur for the treatment accorded to H. H. Shivaji Rao, the Maharaja. During the course of prosecution for defamation against the papers, Mr. Chiplankar died, and Mr. Tilak and Mr. Agarkar were found guilty and sentenced to simple imprisonment for four months. This is the first of the prosecutions to which Mr. Tilak was subjected.

Messrs. Tilak and Namjoshi continued their patriotic labours and in 1884 the Deccan Education Society of Poona was formed. Later on Professor V. B. Kelkar, Professor Dharap, and Professor M. S. Gole joined forces with them, and in 1885 the famous Fergusson College was brought into existence under the fostering care of the Deccan Education Society. Mr. Tilak's participation in the work of the School and College lasted only till 1890 when he resigned his connection.

In 1888 Mr. Agarkar gave up his connection with the *Kesari* on account of differences of opinion on social and religious matters, and the two papers vested in Mr. Tilak,

Mr. Kelkar and Mr. H. N. Gokhale. As Professor Kelkar could not continue his connection with the papers, Mr. Tilak became the sole editor of both; and later on a partition was effected by which Mr. Tilak obtained the proprietorship of the *Kesari* and the *Maharatta* and Messrs. Kelkar and Gokhale retained the ownership of the Arya Bhushan Press.

Mr. Tilak took a leading part in the controversy in regard to the Age of Consent Bill, and his opposition to the Bill was based not on any real conflict of principle, but on his firm conviction that the autonomy of Hindu Society should not be disturbed by any Government Regulation but by spontaneous movement from within its own pale. While engaged in public work, he was also in charge of a Law Class, the first institution in the Presidency, for the purpose of equipping young men for law examinations.

About this period, he gave the time that he could spare from the work of a Law-lecturer and an editor to the study of the antiquity of the Vedas. He pursued on entirely original lines of research, and succeeded in establishing his reputation as a scholar of great solidity and independence of thought. He sent a summary containing his contributions to the elucidation of the antiquity of the Vedas as proved by astronomical observations to the International Congress of Orientals, which met in London in 1892. He subsequently published the whole paper in the form of a treatise, entitled 'The Orion, or Researches into the antiquity of the Vedas.'

We have again to revert to an exciting public event in which he figured conspicuously, *viz.*, the prosecution of Rao Sahib N. S. Bapat of the Settlement Department of the State of Baroda on a number of charges of corruption. As the accused was one of his personal friends, he threw himself heart and soul into the defence and acquitted himself in a manner which well sustains the belief that if he had only persevered in his profession as a lawyer, he would have by this time most probably been elevated to the Bench of the High Court.

His interest in politics led him to associate himself with the Indian National Congress, and he was the Secretary of its Deccan Standing Committee for some years. He organized the first five sessions of the Bombay Provincial Conference, the last of which held at Poona under the Presidency of the Hon. Mr. P. M. Mehta, was a brilliant success. He was twice elected to the Bombay Legislative Council and also as a Fellow of the Bombay University. He also established his fame as a Municipal Councillor of Poona when he was returned as a Member of the Municipality at the head of the poll in 1895. In the same year he was chosen the Secretary of the Poona Congress, the Eleventh National Congress Sessions. But party differences arose among the Congressmen of Poona about the holding of the Social Conference in the Congress Pandal, and Mr. Tilak retired from the work, although he continued to assist in the successful holding of the Congress Sessions.

It was in the severe famine that broke out in the

Presidency in 1896 that Mr. Tilak showed his love of the common people which accounts for his astonishing popularity with them. In Poona he brought into existence cheap grain shops which averted disturbances. The suffering of the people of Sholapur and Nagur took him to the spot where he matured a system of relief works in co-operation with the Government. Mr. Tilak did render valuable service when plague made its first appearance in Poona; and he remained on the spot, while a good many of the fair-weather politicians had fled in panic, and organized a hospital and in his paper recommended to the people the salutary measures of the Government for the stamping out of the plague.

Mr. Tilak recognized that hero-worship or "boundless admiration" as Carlyle calls it, was a strong incentive for national zeal and he found in Sivaji, the great Mahratta chief and warrior, a historic personality, capable of rousing the dormant energies of his people.

With a laudable desire like that of Lord Curzon for perpetuating the memory of Clive he started a movement for repairing the tomb of Sivaji at Raighar and for celebrating annually the Sivaji day. As plague was raging in Maharashtra at the time, the celebration of the year 1897, took place not on Sivaji's birthday, but on his coronation day which was the 13th June. There was an imposing ceremonial accompanied by singing and preaching, and on the 18th June a report of the proceedings, with a hymn sung on the occasion, published in the *Kesari*. The murder of Mr. Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst on the 22nd June which

produced panic in the Anglo-Indian Community, was regarded as the outcome of the article in the *Kesari* and the Government of Bombay gave sanction to the oriental Translator, Mr. Big, to institute proceedings against Mr. Tilak for sedition. Mr. Tilak was arrested in Bombay and not in Poona on the 27th June, in the night, and brought before the Chief Presidency Magistrate who refused an application for bail. The High Court was moved, but refused to release Mr. Tilak on bail. On the 2nd August Mr. Tilak was committed to stand his trial at the High Court Sessions and a second application for bail was made to Mr. Justice Tyabji by Mr. Davar (afterwards a Judge) which was opposed by the Government. But Mr. Justice Tyabji released Mr. Tilak on bail, and in his order expounded the law in the light of the principles governing the action of Criminal Courts in England. The defence was conducted in the High Court by Mr. Pugh, of the Calcutta Bar, assisted by Mr. (afterwards Justice) Davar while the prosecution was in the hands of the Advocate-General. A jury consisting of six Europeans and three Indians was empanelled, and Mr. Tilak was found guilty by the six European majority. The Judge accepted the verdict and sentenced him to eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment. The application to reserve some points of law to the Full Bench was refused, and of course the Advocate-General who had conducted the prosecution could not be expected to stultify himself by the grant of a certificate. The High Court of Bombay followed suit and refused special leave to appeal to Privy

Council. The last resource left to the defence was tried by moving the Privy Council to grant leave and Mr. Asquith, afterwards Prime Minister, argued the case, but the Lord Chancellor, Lord Halsbury saw no occasion for interfering with the verdict of the Lower Court and rejected the application. It may be worth while mentioning the fact that the Chancellor was a Member of the Cabinet of which the Secretary of State for India who had sanctioned the prosecution was a Member. The highest Court of Appeal having refused to reconsider the case on the merits, the friends of Mr. Tilak in England, Professor Max Muller and Mr. William Hunter, presented a petition to the Queen, and prayed for mercy as he was a great scholar and as his release would be taken as an act of the exercise of the prerogative which was worthy of the Sovereign. After some negotiations, Mr. Tilak was released on the 6th September 1898 on his giving his consent to certain formal conditions.

The next six months were passed by Mr. Tilak at the Singhad Sanatorium where he recovered somewhat the health that had been considerably impaired by his prison-life. After attending the Congress held in Madras, he travelled to Ceylon.

In the midst of all his public activities he found time to devote to the study of the antiquity of the Vedas ; and during a period of ten years he gradually mastered not only the original works but western treatises on the subject. As he continued his researches the conclusion was slowly forced upon his mind that the original

home of the Vedic Singers was in the Arctic region and that the ancient hymns date from interglacial times. In his former book, the "Orion," he had invoked the assistance of astronomical observations to establish the antiquity of the Vedic compositions, and in "The Arctic Home in the Vedas" he pressed into service the latest discoveries in Geology and the most recent information about the condition of the primitive man. It is indeed a melancholy task to turn from the contemplation of Tilak, the scholar, to Tilak struggling with difficulties arising from prosecution. The famous Tai Maharaj case involved him in mental and physical irritation which to a man of his temperament, was more unbearable than any trouble caused by a state prosecution for sedition. Shri Baba Maharaja, a first-class Sardar of Poona and member of one of the oldest aristocratic families of the Deccan, was on the point of death when he sent for Mr. Tilak who had been only a few days before released from the prison. As Mr. Tilak was a great friend of the Maharaja and as he was sincerely desirous of promoting the prosperity of the family, he was induced to accept the heavy responsibility of an executor under the last will and testament of the dying man.

This benevolent compliance with the last wishes of a personal friend was the cause of all the storm that raged over his devoted head from 1901 to 1904. "Mr. Tilak, with his usual thoroughness, set about bringing order into the chaos in which the estate of the late Maharaja was left and, for the real stability of the

family, he determined to do two things, *viz.*, the payment of the debts and the putting the widow on a shorter allowance than she had expected, and the adoption of a boy. The young widow did not first raise any opposition to the scheme but the evil counsellors who surrounded the young and rich widow, played upon her fear and suspicion that she would be in a better position if she were allowed to adopt a boy of her own choice who could be bound by any conditions that she might choose to impose. So gradually the conspirators including her favourite Karbhari, drew the net round her but till the 18th June 1901, the misguided widow did not manifest any signs of hostility towards the executors. On that day they all set out for Aurangabad where a boy chosen from another branch of the old family was given in adoption to Tai Maharaj. When she returned from Aurangabad, she listened to the evil suggestions of her counsellors and instituted proceedings before Mr. Aston, District Judge of Poona, for revocation of the probate of the will of her late husband. The District Judge found that the probate granted to Mr. Tilak and other executors was invalid and passed an order revoking the probate, but not content to strictly confine himself to this main issue in the case he allowed at his unrestricted discretion much irrelevant evidence as to the confinement of Tai Maharaj, the Aurangabad adoption, etc., against which Mr. Tilak protested in vain. The evident object of all this was to damage Mr. Tilak's reputation for integrity in the public estimation; and to accomplish this ungracious purpose the District Judge

took proceedings under the Criminal Procedure Code and committed Mr. Tilak, to the Poona Magistrate to be proceeded against according to law. A formidable list of seven charges including corruption, perjury and forgery were formulated against Mr. Tilak, and although the High Court set aside the judgment of the Lower Court on the issue of revocation of the probate, they did not think it fit to stop the criminal proceedings against Mr. Tilak, which resulted in conviction and a sentence of eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment. The Sessions Judge in appeal, Mr. Lucas, reduced the sentence to six months. The Judge was of opinion that Mr. Tilak's character was absolutely untainted by any corrupt intentions. After this remark the High Court could not uphold the conviction at all, and quashed it and the Government withdrew the other charges, Mr. Tilak emerged from this furious ordeal of prolonged misery, triumphant without a blemish on his character. The judgment of the High Court in the Criminal Case dealt with the question of adoption and pronounced in its favour, and Mr. Tilak obtained afterwards a civil decree recognizing the validity of the adoption.

The last stage of Mr. Tilak's life has now been reached, and from the year 1905 onward we find him incessantly occupied in political activities of a varied nature. The year 1905 is an eventful year in the annals of British rule in India. It saw the partition of Bengal effected by that most imperious of Viceroys Lord Curzon.

It was in the Congress of 1905 which was held under

the presidency of Mr. Gokhale at Benares that the boycott was declared a lawful weapon to be used by the Congress as an effective protest against a political wrong which the authorities are not desirous of redressing in compliance with popular agitation and opinion.

It is not at all necessary that the history of the Calcutta Congress and its now famous resolution on Swaraj, Boycott, Swadeshi, and National Education should here be repeated with all its exciting details, the deliberations of the Calcutta Congress from the high water-mark of the Indian National Congress. The next year 1907 saw an attempt which was a retrograde step and against which the Nationalists protested under the astute guidance of Mr. Tilak and which resulted in the break-up of the Surat Congress.

In 1908 he was one of those who took part in the Temperance movement and the Poona Municipal elections in which his personality carried the palm of victory. The Bombay Provincial Conference held at Dhulia was attended by Mr. Tilak. No sooner had the hot controversy regarding the break-up of the Congress began to subside in violence, than the bomb outrages at Muzaffarpore towards the end of April electrified the whole of India as an unexpected event in the Political History of India. The District Magistrate of Dacca was shot at by some unknown person or persons only a couple of days before the Congress Session at Surat. The attempt made on the life of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and the life of the Mayor of Chandernagore, all these and other events led to the adoption of a vigorous

policy of repression. Prosecutions for sedition became the order of the day and the most barbarous sentences have been passed on the unfortunate Editors of newspapers and public speakers. It was of course well known that the tallest poppy in the field would also be felled down by the Government scythe. The Bombay Legislative Council met at Poona on the 20th June 1908, when the Governor made a declaration that the Government were determined upon putting down seditious agitators in the province who were in the habit of exciting disaffection against the authorities ; and it was, of course, understood who was the real object of the Government's solicitude in the matter. Already a number of Indian newspapers were being prosecuted for sedition. Mr. Tilak as the most potent journalist in the Deccan could not be left out of the kind consideration of the Government. Mr. Paranjpe, a friend of Mr. Tilak, had been committed to the Bombay Sessions for seditious writing in his paper, the *Kal*, and Mr. Tilak left Poona for Bombay to be near the scene of the trial to give necessary help in the course of the trial. On the 23rd June, the official sanction for the prosecution of Mr. Tilak was given and on the 24th June he was arrested at 6 p.m. under a warrant issued by the Chief Presidency Magistrate at Sardar Grah.

On the very same day his house and office at Poona as well as his residence at the hill fort sanitorium, Singhad, were searched under a warrant issued by the Chief Presidency Magistrate. A postcard containing the names of two books on explosives written on it was

found, and, as we shall presently see, the prosecution made much of this card in the course of the trial. On the 28th June, Mr. Tilak was brought before the Magistrate who remanded him to custody after rejecting an application for bail. While Mr. Tilak was in jail, the Government thought that one article was not strong enough to secure conviction and gave sanction to prosecute for another article on the 9th June in the *Kesari*; and the new warrant was served on Mr. Tilak in the jail. On the 29th June, Mr. Aston committed Mr. Tilak to the Sessions of the Bombay High Court on two sets of charges under 124-A and 153-A by two separate orders of commitment. Mr. Tilak was lodged in the Dongri Jail at Bombay, and could not make such adequate preparation for his defence as he would have done if he had been released on bail. Mr. Jinnah, Bar-at-law, made before Mr. Justice Davar the Judge presiding over the third Criminal Sessions, an application for bail, and it was refused on the ground that Mr. Tyabji's exposition of the law of bail was not quite correct and that there were other circumstances which it would be wise under the circumstance not to mention. The prosecution applied for a Special Jury and carried the point, although Mr. Baptista contended that it would be unfair to do so, as a majority on the Special Jury list were Europeans who could not understand the language in which the incriminating articles were written.

On the 13th July began the memorable State trial which will hereafter take a prominent place among the

State trials in which the liberty of the Indian Press was at stake. The question of the amalgamation of the charges took up a considerable time, and as many as three charges (one under 153-A for the first article and two under 124-A and 153-A of the second article) were joined together to the prejudice of Mr. Tilak who, conducting his own defence, pointed out that it was against the express provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code and against his own interests. A Special Jury consisting of seven Europeans and two Parsees was empanelled, thus, realising the fear entertained by the accused. The prosecution occupied two days and a half.

Mr. Tilak began his defence on the third day of the trial at 4 p.m. and ended on the eighth and the last day. He spoke for twenty and one hours and ten minutes, as Mr. Justice Davar remarked in his charge to the Jury. The speech of Mr. Tilak is not characterized by eloquence, but it is a sober and dignified and stately defence of liberty of the Press in the country.

Mr. Tilak concluded his address to the Jury at about 12-30 noon on the last day and, after the Advocate-General had replied in a way that was not a fair answer to any of the arguments so elaborately put forth by the illustrious accused, the Judge delivered his charge to the Jury by sitting up till 10 p.m. A majority of seven returned a verdict of guilty and the Judge, accepting it, sentenced Mr. Tilak to six years' transportation and a fine of one thousand rupees. Before the sentence was pronounced, the accused, in reply to the question if he

had anything to say, spoke those memorable words which bring out the high patriotism which Mr. Davaar effected to call a mere profession, and the calm endurance of a fate with the dignity of the great heroes of history :

“ In spite of the verdict of the Jury I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher powers that rule the destiny of things, and it may be the will of Providence that the cause which I represent may prosper more by my suffering than by remaining free.”

Mr. Tilak was hurried away to Ahmedabad where he was lodged for sometime till he was transferred to Mandalay by a benign Government which had commuted his transportation with simple imprisonment and remitted the fine of one thousand rupees. An application to reserve some points of law was rejected by the Judge, and successive applications to the Advocate-General and a Full Bench having proved equally abortive, his faithful friend and illustrious co-adjutor Mr. G. S. Khaparde went to England to carry his case to the Privy Council. But all his efforts and the expenses were to no effect, the Privy Council not finding sufficient reasons to admit the case.

Neither Coronations nor Delhi Durbars availed aught in the mitigation of the punishment meted out to Mr. Tilak and he had to undergo the full term of imprisonment. Mr. Tilak had, by his sufferings and absolute self-abnegation, so endeared himself to the people that even the masses who could little appreciate his great intellectual abilities, were deeply moved. The

mill hands in Bombay who scarcely knew that Mr. Tilak was the Author of the "Orion" struck work when they heard of the conviction thus testifying the esteem and reverence in which the people had held him. Meetings of sympathy were held in thousands; all party feelings were forgotten and political leaders who did not worship in the same temple with Mr. Tilak *vied* with each other in placing on record their most emphatic opinion against the Government's action and in paying their tribute of admiration to the great patriot.

The hardest punishment that the Nemesis of fate could impose upon ordinary mortals is confinement in prison. An isolation of 6 years to a man of Mr. Tilak's unceasing activities and strenuous labour must have been both mentally and physically most depressing, if not actually crushing. His iron will and his highly developed spiritual nature came to his rescue and sustained him through these dark days of pain and solitude. Even the sable cloud is not without its silver lining. Nature is a great monitor and when people whose genius and temperament are suited to a particular line of activities stray from their natural orbit in pursuit of seemingly higher ends, it puts a ban on their self-chosen work and reverts them to their appointed task. Instead of being a humble worshipper of the Goddess of Letters, Mr. Tilak had gone after strange Gods and leisure in the shape of punishment was now given to him so that he might work in his native element and produce another work of enduring value. The one book, that would give solace to a soul in trouble, is Bhagavat Gita and

Mr. Tilak was devoting his time in prison to a study of this great book. His subtle intellect would not tamely accept the interpretations put upon the teachings in Gita by other original thinkers and Mr. Tilak had his own views to offer. Being an erudite and intelligent student of both Eastern and Western Ethics, Mr. Tilak has had the great privilege of comparing notes between the two and his Gita Rahasya is one of the most remarkable books on the philosophy of the conduct of life. It has, as may be expected, given rise to a host of criticisms and has been diversely commented by different schools of thought. But that it is a real contribution to the world of thought no one can deny. It has had a most surprisingly large sale and is being translated from Marathi into other languages.

The return of Mr. Tilak to his beloved motherland in 1914 found him again the Pilot of the storm-tossed and weather-beaten Indian nation. He found himself face to face with quite a new state of affairs. The great war, into which Britain plunged to champion the cause and integrity of small nation was still in progress. It had created new aspirations among this nation also, and a new angle of vision opened before the people's eye an immense vista of brilliant possibilities. The so-called moderate and extremist parties had become merged in one party wedded to obtain a position of honour for India among the nations of the world. The gospel of Home Rule on which the Congress split at Surat became the accepted creed of the whole nation. This was the psychological moment for the

nation to bestir itself for the achievement of its long deferred position. Having found it, Mr. Tilak threw himself heart and soul into the Home Rule movement. The "*Mahratta*" and the "*Kesari*" had begun their propagandist work in right earnest. Home Rule Leagues were formed; mass meetings were organised; and Mr. Tilak delivered a series of lectures on Home Rule. This new activity had naturally roused the too sensitive imagination of the Bureaucracy which espied a mighty danger to their vested interests. A fine occasion was sought for inaugurating a new campaign of repression. Mr. Tilak completed his sixtieth birthday on the 23rd July 1916 which was observed as a day of national rejoicing and in appreciation of the sufferings and services of the Great Tribune, the people presented him with a purse containing a lakh of rupees and the counter demonstration came from the Government who asked Mr. Tilak to show cause why he should not be bound down for good conduct for one year on a security of Rs. 10,000 and two personal sureties for Rs. 40,000, having regard to his three speeches on Home Rule delivered at Ahmadnagar and Belgaum. The Presidency Magistrate having condemned the speeches as seditious, Mr. Tilak complied with the Magistrate's order. But on appeal, the High Court of Bombay presided over by Justices Batchelor and Shaw unanimously quashed the Magistrate's order holding that the speeches were innocuous breathing nothing but loyalty to the Empire and fervent love for India. This is the first occasion in which justice was done to Mr. Tilak, showing that the jealous

Goddess of Liberty, exacting and cruel though she is towards her votaries does not forget them entirely. The judgment in the Tai Maharaj case, completely exonerating Mr. Tilak from any faint of guilt and paying a high tribute to his sterling character is another great event in Mr. Tilak's life which has greatly raised him even in the estimation of his political foes. Mr. Tilak played a leading part in the United Congress at Lucknow and was in the forefront as the acknowledged leader of the Home Rule movement.

In 1917, Mr. Tilak led a deputation to England to place the Indian Cause before the British public but the forces of obscurantism were too strong and the Home Government which viewed the deputation with disfavour cancelled the passports and turned them back from Colombo. The strenuous labours of Mr. Tilak in the cause of Swaraj told on his health never at its best since his release from Mandaley. In the early part of 1920 he became ill and on 31st July 1920 the great Indian patriot and nation builder breathed his last. Of him truly it could be said—the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church.

The immense influence which Mr. Tilak exercised over his people and over men in other parts of the country has been built by many contributing factors. Next after Mahatma Gandhi he is among Indian political reformers the least touched by the glamour of Western civilization. He would confess that English education has done much for us, but that does not amount to the adoption of customs which are not neces-

sary for the well-being of the land but are merely an imitation lacking independence of thought. The common people of Maharashtra looked upon him as a very God who had come to live in the Kaliyuga among the sons of men. Simple in dress and speech, accessible even to the most lowly, and yet withal one of the greatest scholars of the land or even of the world, he has struck the imagination of his countrymen to an uncommon degree.

He does not treat political subjects with the glow and religious fervour of Bengal nationalists who have practically created in India the Gospel of Nationalism. He, like the men of his race, has a practical shrewdness of judgment which is more formidable to the opponent than the highflown periods and grand emotions of other workers in the field. Disregard of self is the most distinctive feature of his character, and it is this, as Mr. Nevins remarks, which has made extremism the loveable thing it is to many ardent men. The calmness of mind, and elasticity of spirit, that he possesses, has brought him out of the most painful circumstances and, in spite of opposition and misrepresentation, he maintained his hold upon the people, not as merely the result of the deliberate work of a clever mind but as the response to those feelings in common human nature which are the deepest and the most ennobling.

A STANDARD CHARACTER FOR INDIAN LANGUAGES

(Speech delivered at Benares at the Nagari Pracharni Sabha Conference under the Presidency of Mr. R. C. Dutt, in December 1905.)

Gentlemen,—The scope and object of the Nagari Pracharni Sabha has already been explained to you by the President. I should have gladly dilated on the same. But as ten speakers are to follow me within an hour and a half, I must forego the pleasure and restrict myself, during the few minutes at my disposal to a brief mention of the points which I think ought to be kept in view in endeavouring to work on the lines adopted by the Sabha.

The first and the most important thing we have to remember is that this movement is not merely for establishing a common character for the Northern India. It is a part and parcel of a larger movement, I may say a national movement to have a common language for the whole of India; for a common language is an important element of nationality. It is by a common language that you express your thoughts to others; and Manu rightly says that everything is comprehended or proceeded from *vak* or language. Therefore if you want to draw a nation together there is no force more

powerful than to have a common language for all. And that is the end which the Sabha has kept in view.

But how is the end to be attained? We aim at having a common language not only for Northern India, but I will say, in course of time, for the whole of India including the Southern or the Madras Presidency, and when the scope of our labours is so widened our difficulties seem to grow apace. First of all we have to face what may be called the historic difficulties. The contest between the Aryans and the non-Aryans in ancient, and between the Mahomedans and the Hindus in later times have destroyed the linguistic harmony of the country. In Northern India the languages spoken by the Indian population are mostly Aryan, being derived from Sanskrit; while those in the South are Dravidian in origin. The difference exists not only in words, but in the characters in which those words are written. Next to this is the difference between Urdu and Hindi to which so much prominence is given in this province. On our side we have also the Modi or the running script character as distinguished from the Balabodha or the Devanagari in which the Marathi books are ordinarily printed.

There are, therefore, two great important elements which we have to harmonise and bring together under our common character or language before we venture to go to the Mahomedan or Persian characters. I have already said that though a common language for India is the ultimate end we have in view, we begin with the lowest step of the lad--

der. I mean a common character for Hindus. But here too we have to harmonise the two elements now mentioned—the Aryan or the Devanagari character, and the Dravidian or the Tamil character. It should be noted that the distinction is not one of character only inasmuch as there are certain sounds in the Dravidian languages which are not to be found in any Aryan language.

We have resolved to proceed step by step, and as explained to you by the President we have at first taken up in hand only the group of the Aryan languages, *i.e.*, those derived from Sanskrit. These are Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarathi and Gurumukhi. There are other sub-dialects, but I have named the principal ones. These languages are all derived from Sanskrit; and the characters in which they are written are also modifications of the ancient characters of India. In course of time each of these languages has however developed its own peculiarities in grammar, pronunciation and characters, though the alphabet in each is nearly the same.

The Nagari Pracharni Sabha aims at having a common character for all those Aryan languages, so that when a book is printed in that character it may be more readily intelligible to all the people speaking the Aryan languages. I think we all agree on this point and admit its utility. But the difficulty arises, when a certain character is proposed as best fitted to be the common character for all. Thus, for instance the Bengalis may urge that the characters in which they write their language are more ancient than those adopted by the Gujarathi or Marathi-speaking people, and that the Bengali should

therefore be selected as a common character for all. There are others who think that the Devanagari, as you find it in the printed books, is the oldest character and therefore it is entitled to be the common character for all the Aryan languages.

I do not think, however, that we can decide this question on pure historic grounds. If you go to ancient inscriptions you will find that no less than ten different characters were in use at different times since the days of Asoka and that Kharoshtri or Brahmi is believed to be the oldest of them all. Since then all letters have undergone a great deal of change; and all our existing characters are modifications of some one or other of the ancient characters. It would, I think, therefore be idle to decide the question of common character on purely antiquarian basis.

To avoid this difficulty it was at one time suggested that we should all adopt Roman characters, and one reason advanced in support thereof was that it would give a common character both for Asia and Europe.

Gentlemen, the suggestion appears to me to be utterly ridiculous. The Roman alphabet, and therefore Roman character, is very defective and entirely unsuited to express the sounds used by us. It has been found to be defective even by English grammarians. Thus while sometimes a single letter has three or four sounds, sometimes a single sound is represented by two or three letters. Add to it the difficulty of finding Roman characters or letters that would exactly represent the sounds in our languages without the use of any

diacritic marks and the ridiculousness of the suggestion would be patent to all.

If a common character is needed for us all, it should be, you will, therefore, see a more perfect character than the Roman. European Sanskritists have declared that the Devanagari alphabet is more perfect than any which obtains in Europe. And with this clear opinion before us it would be suicidal to go to any other alphabet in our search for a common character for all the Aryan languages in India. No, I would go further and say that the classification of letters and sounds on which we have bestowed so much labour in India and which we find perfected in the works of Panini is not to be found in any other language in the world. That is another reason why the Devanagari alphabet is the best suited to represent the different sounds we all use. If you compare the different characters given at the end of each book published in the Sacred Books of the East Series you will be convinced of what I say. We have one sound for one letter and one letter for each sound. I do not think, therefore, that there can be any difference of opinion as to what alphabet we should adopt. The Devanagari is pre-eminently such an alphabet. The question is one of character or the form in writing which the letters of the alphabet assume in different provinces; and I have already said that this question cannot be solved on mere antiquarian grounds.

Like Lord Curzon's standard time we want a standard character. Well, if Lord Curzon had attempted to give us a standard character on national lines he would have

been entitled to our respect far more than by giving us a standard time. But it has not been done ; and we must do it ourselves giving up all provincial prejudices. The Bengalis naturally take pride in their own character. I do not blame them for it. There are others in Gujarath who say that their character is easy to write because they omit the head-line. The Maharshtrites on the other hand may urge that Mahrathi is the character in which Sanskrit is written, and therefore it ought to be the common character for the whole of India.

I fully appreciate the force of these remarks. But we must come to a solution of the question and for that purpose discuss the subject in a business-like and practical manner. Whatever character we adopt, it must be easy to write, elegant to the eye and capable of being written with fluency. The letters that you devise must again be sufficient to express all the sounds in different Aryan languages, nay, must be capable of being extended to express the Dravidian sounds without diacritic marks. There should be one letter for every sound and *vice versa*. That is what I mean by sufficient and complete character. And if we put our heads together it would not be difficult to devise such a character based on the existing ones. In determining upon such a character we shall have to take into consideration the fact, namely, which of the existing characters is or are used over a wider area. For a single character used over a wider area if suited in other respects will naturally claim preference to be a common character as far as it goes.

When you have appointed your committee for the

purpose and found out a common character, I think we shall have to go to Government and urge upon its attention the necessity of introducing in the vernacular school books of each province a few lessons in this standard character, so that the next generation may become familiar with it from its school days. Studying a new character is not a difficult task. But there is a sort of reluctance to study a new character after one's studies are completed. This reluctance can be overcome by the way I have suggested and herein Government can help us. It is not a political question as such though in the end everything may be said to be political. A government that gave us a standard system of weights and measures would not, I think, object to lend its help to a scheme which aims to secure a standard character for all Aryan languages.

When this common character is established it would not be difficult to read the books printed in one dialect of the Aryan language by those who use a different dialect of the same? My own difficulty in not understanding a Bengali book is that I cannot read the characters. If a Bengali book is printed in the Devanagari characters I can follow the author to a great extent, if not wholly, so as to understand the purport of the book; for over fifty per cent. of the words used will be found borrowed or derived from Sanskrit. We are all fast adopting new ideas from the West and with the help of the parent tongue, the Sanskrit, coining new words to express the same. Here, therefore, is another direction in which we may work for securing a common language

for all and I am glad to see that by preparing a dictionary of scientific terms in Hindi, the Sabha is doing a good service in this line. I should have liked to say some thing on this point. But as there are other speakers to follow me, I do not think I shall be justified in doing so and therefore resume my seat with your permission.

THE BHARATA DHARMA MAHAMANDALA

(Benares, 3rd January, 1906).

I am sorry I cannot address you in any other language except Marathi and English. English should be boycotted for religious purposes. But I cannot help and hope you will excuse me. I shall speak a few words on the importance of Hindu religion, its present condition and efforts that are being made to preserve it from decay. What is Hindu religion? If you go to the different parts of India, you will find different views about Hindu religion entertained by different people. Here you are mostly Vaishnavas or followers of Shri Krishna. If you go to the South, you will meet followers of Ramanuja and such others. What is Hindu religion then? Bharata Dharma Mahamandala cannot be a Mahamandala unless it includes and co-ordinates these different sections and parts. Its name can only be significant if different sections of Hindu religion are united under its banner. All these different sects are so many branches of the Vedic religion. The term Sanatan Dharma shows that our religion is very old—as old as the history of the human race itself. Vedic religion was the religion of the Aryans from a very early time. But you all know no branch can stand by itself.

Hindu religion is a whole made up of different parts co-related to each other as so many sons and daughters of one great religion. If this idea is kept in view and if we try to unite the various sections it will be consolidated into a mighty force. So long as you are divided amongst yourselves, so long as one section does not recognise its affinity with another, you cannot hope to rise as Hindus. Religion is an element in nationality. The word Dharma means a tie and comes from the root *dhri* to bear or hold. What is there to hold together? To connect the soul with God, and man with man. Dharma means our duties towards God as well as towards our fellow-creatures. Religion is made up of both these elements—duty towards God and duty towards man. Hindu religion as such provides for a moral as well as social tie. This being our definition we must go back to the past and see how it was worked out. During Vedic times India was a self-contained country. It was united as a great nation. That unity has disappeared bringing on us great degradation and it becomes the duty of the leaders to revive that union. A Hindu of this place is as much a Hindu as the one from Madras or Bombay. You might put on a different dress, speaking a different language, but you should remember that the inner sentiments which move you all are the same. The study of the Gita, Ramayana and Mahabharata produce the same ideas throughout the country. Are not these—common allegiance to the Vedas, the Gita and the Ramayana—our common heritage? If we lay stress on it forgetting all the

minor differences that exist between different sects, then by the grace of Providence we shall ere long be able to consolidate all the different sects into a mighty Hindu nation. This ought to be the ambition of every Hindu. If you thus work to unite you will find within a few years one feeling and one thought actuating and dominating all people throughout the country. This is the work we have to do. The present condition of our religion is not at all one that is desirable. We think ourselves separated and the feeling of that unity which was at the root of our advancement in the past is gone. It is certainly an unfortunate circumstance that we should have so many sections and sub-sections. It is the duty of an association like the Bharata Dharma Mahamandala to work, to restore the lost and forgotten union. In the absence of unity India cannot claim its place among the nations of the world. For some two hundred years India was in the same condition as it is to-day. Buddhism flourished and attacks were made on Hindu religion by Buddhists and Jains. After 600 years of chaos rose one great leader, Shankaracharya and he brought together all the common philosophical elements of our religion and proved and preached them in such a way that Buddhism was swept away from the land.

We have the grand and eternal promise Shri Krishna has given in the Gita that whenever there is a decay of Dharma, He comes down to restore it. When there is a decay owing to disunion, when good men are persecuted, then Shri Krishna comes down to save us. There-

is no religion on the face of the earth except the Hindu religion wherein we find such a hopeful promise that God comes to us as many times as necessary. After Mahomed no Prophet is promised, and Jesus Christ comes once for ever. No religion holds such promise full of hope. It is because of this that the Hindu religion is not dead. We are never without hope. Let heretics say what they may. A time will come when our religious thoughts and our rights will be vindicated. Each man is doing his best, and as association is doing its best every Hindu is welcome to assist it and carry it to its goal. If we do not find men coming forward let us hope they will do so in the next generation. We are never without hope; no other religion has such a definite and sacred promise as we have of Shri Krishna; it is based on truth and truth never dies. I say it and I am prepared to prove this statement. I believe that truth is not vouchsafed to one only. The great characteristic of truth is that it is universal and catholic. It is not confined to any particular race. Hindu religion tolerates all religions. Our religions say that all religions are based on truth, "you follow yours. I mine."

Shri Krishna says that the followers of other religions worship God though not in a proper form. Shri Krishna does not say that the followers of other religions would be doomed to eternal hell. I challenge anybody to point out to me a similar text from the scriptures of other religions. It cannot be found in any other religion, because

they are partial truth while our Hindu religion is based on the whole, the Sanath truth, and therefore it is bound to triumph in the end. Numerical strength also is a great strength. Can the religion which counts its followers by crores die? Never, unless the crores of our fellow followers are suddenly swept away, our religion will not die. All that is required for glorious triumph and success is that we should unite all the different sects on a common platform and let the stream of Hindu religion flow through one channel with mighty consolidated and concentrated force. This is the work which the Bharata Dharma Mandala has to do and accomplish. Let us be all united. Because a particular man wears a particular dress, speaks a different tongue, worships a particular *devata*, is that any reason for our withdrawing our hands of fellowship from our Hindu brother? The character of our Hindu religion is very comprehensive—as comprehensive as its literature itself; we have a wonderful literature. Wisdom, as is concentrated in Gita and epitomised in about 700 verses, that wisdom, I am confident, cannot be defeated or overcome by any philosophy, be it Western or any other. Now I turn to the forces that are arrayed against us. There are mainly two forces of (1) science and (2) Christianity. If our religion is threatened with any hostile criticism, it comes from these two. As for the first, a great change is coming over the West and truths that are discovered by them were known to our Rishis. Modern science is gradually justifying and vindic-

cating our ancient wisdom. With the establishment of Psychical Research Societies and the expansion of scientific knowledge they have come to understand that the fundamental principles of our religion are based on truth that can be proved. Take an instance. Chaitanya pervades everything. It is strictly a Hindu theory. Professor Bose has recently shown that this Vedantic doctrine is literally true according to modern science. Take the doctrine of the survival of soul independent of the body.

Doctrines of Karma and Re-incarnation go with it. Spencer never believed in these. But recently it has been our great privilege to see that Sir Oliver Lodge and Myers and others have declared that the soul does not die with the body; so much now they are convinced of. Modern science accepts the doctrine of Karma if not of re-incarnation. But it is not the belief of Christianity. They hold that God gives a new soul each and every time. Thus it would be seen that a change is coming over the West. Our enemies are fast disappearing before the teachings of modern science, take courage and work hard for the final triumph. If you make a little effort and aim at union, you have a bright future before you. Now-a-days, Vedanta is not only read but studied by Americans. No European doctor believes that the beating of the heart can be voluntarily stopped. But it has been proved to the contrary. Vedanta and Yoga have been fully vindicated by modern science and these aim at giving you a spiritual union. It is our clear duty, therefore, to follow truth and re-edit

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our scriptures and place them before the world in the light of modern science that they may be acceptable to all. But I tell you again unity is necessary for such work. You would be wanting in duty to yourself and to your ancestors if you do not give up provincial prejudices and promote unity that underlies all sects. We have been very idle. We have grown so stupid owing to our idleness that we are required to be told by foreigners that our treasures conceal gold and not iron. Modern science and education are prepared to help you if you take advantage of them, and time will come when instead of Christians preaching Christianity here we shall see our preachers preaching Sanatan Dharma all over the world. Concentrate all your forces. The idea of a Hindu University where our old religion will be taught along with modern science is a very good one and should have the support of all. In conclusion, I would again draw your attention to bring about a harmonious union of all sects and rightly claim and obtain our rightful place among the nations of the world.

HONEST SWADESHI

Speech delivered on Sunday, the 23rd December 1906, in Beadon Square, Calcutta, under the presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai.

I did not expect to have to speak on the day on which my long journey from Poona came to an end, but circumstances appear to have left me no choice. Lord Minto opened the Industrial Exhibition here the other day and, in doing so, said that honest Swadeshism should be dissociated from political aspirations. In other words the Swadeshi agitation had, within the last eighteen months, been carried on by the workers for motives other than those professed and for ends not yet disclosed. This is entirely an unfair representation of the existing state of things and can easily be demonstrated to be so. To begin with, if Lord Minto thinks the Swadeshi workers dishonest, why should he have associated himself with them by consenting to open the Exhibition? Further, if Lord Minto is honest, and our Bengal leaders who have been preaching the Swadeshi cause are dishonest, why should they have invited his Lordship to do the formal and ceremonious act of declaring the Exhibition open? So taken either way, it will

appear that his Lordship and our leaders cannot possibly hit it off together. If he did not want us, we shall certainly be able to do without him. So his consenting to perform the opening ceremony was clearly a great blunder. Then is our movement really dishonest? In Germany, France, America, Governments protect their infant industries by imposing taxes on imports. The Government of India should also have done the same as it professes to rule India in the interests of Indians. It failed in its duty so the people are trying to do for themselves what the Government ought to have done years and years ago. No, Lord Minto dares not call the Emperor of Germany dishonest nor can he similarly characterise the President of the French or American Republics. How then can our leaders be called dishonest? Are they to be abused because they are endeavouring to do what the Government has culpably omitted to do? As head of a despotic Government his Lordship cannot possibly sympathise with the political aspirations and agitations of the people, and it may be expected that he may maintain an unbroken silence about it. Had I been in his Lordship's position I would have done so, but why should Lord Minto call us dishonest? There is a harder word that is on my lips but to say the least it is impolitic of Lord Minto to have said so. There it was said that Swadeshi was an industrial movement and has nothing to do with politics. We all know that Government is not engaged in commerce. It might have begun that way but it certainly does not trade now.

Did it not protect British trade and adopt measures to promote it? If the Indian Government dissociates itself from the commercial aspirations of the British nation, then it will be time for Swadeshi workers to consider the question of dissociating their movement from politics. But so long as politics and commerce are blended together, in this policy of the Government of India, it will be a blunder to dissociate Swadeshi from politics. In fact, Swadeshism is a large term which includes politics and to be a true Swadeshi one must look on all lines—whether political or industrial or economical—which converge our people towards the status of a civilised nation. Gentlemen, I insist on your emphatically repudiating the charge of dishonesty.



Swami Vivekananda

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

On the 9th of January 1862, was born the child Norendra, who was to become in after-life Swami Viekananda, one of the greatest preachers and spiritual thinkers that the world has known. He came of the Datta family of Simosha, a very ancient Kayastha family. His ancestors seem to have been simple and devout people of an intensely religious turn of mind. His grandfather, we are told, became a Sanyasin in the last days of his life. His father, Vishvanatha Datta, was an attorney-at-law of the Calcutta High Court. His mother, who, we are happy to say, is still alive, is a woman of remarkable intelligence and memory. Thus, we see the seeds of deep devotion, critical insight and keen intellect in the family, which in Swami Vivekananda bloomed and bore rich and excellent fruit.

Norendra Nath, even as a boy, showed that sympathy and fellow-feeling, that piety and devotion, that love of God and spiritual things which were to so distinguish him in later years. He was by nature of a meditative and philosophical turn of mind and this developed and deepened as he grew old. When he was at school, he was a close student of Hindu Philosophy and was a constant reader of Herbert Spencer's works. We are

told that, when at college, he wrote to Herbert Spencer a letter criticising some of his philosophical speculations and that Herbert Spencer struck by the performance encouraged him in his search after Truth. The nature of his studies soon led him into agnosticism, as he himself confesses in one of his lectures. He naively says, 'I do not believe a Hindu can become an atheist. He may read European books and persuade himself he is a materialist, but only for five months, mark you. It is not in your blood.' His intensely emotional and fervently religious temperament revolted from atheism and agnosticism and he soon turned away from them. He then tried the Brahmo faith; but Brahmoism was too narrow and constrained for his free soul and he soon gave it up. At this time, he passed through that critical stage which has marked the life of all the great religious teachers of the world—that stage which is characterised by acute mental agony and suffering resulting from the eager desire for spiritual knowledge and from the soul's hunger for the Divine Truth. He had then taken his B.A. degree and was preparing himself to enter the legal profession; but his mind was full of darkness and doubt and yearned for a spiritual guide and teacher who could resolve its doubts and dispel its gloom.

Then it was that the Divine Light dawned upon him and his ardent soul met with fulfilment of its long cherished hopes. It came about this way. An uncle of his was a disciple of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, that pure and noble sage who had

attained the realisation of the soul in an age of materialistic darkness. He took Vivekananda to the sage; and this proved to be a turning point in Vivekananda's life. The first interview between Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda, the guru willing to teach and the pupil eager to learn, is remarkable and touching to a degree. The great sage, beyond all worldly passions and desires and spending his life in the meditation of the Great One asks our hero to sing religious songs in praise of the Lord Sri Krishna whom he so much loved. Vivekananda complies with the request and sings in his full rich voice. The scene of the great sage sitting in his holy Ashrama, surrounded by his disciples with his future pupil sitting by and singing, the face of the master lighted up with divine pleasure at the radiant vision of the Lord which, the song is conjuring up before his mind's eye, sends a thrill over our frame and fills with devotion every pious Hindu heart. Vivekananda at length takes leave of him, promising to return soon, alone. This meeting is a memorable one as it marks the beginning of a connection which lasts throughout the life of the teacher and changes the whole current of the pupil.

From this time forward, Vivekananda was the devout disciple of Sri Ramakrishna and learnt the eternal truths of the Vedanta at his master's feet. Many a great soul had the honour of being a disciple of this holy recluse, but Vivekananda was the foremost of them all. The master and the disciples spent many a pleasant and instructive hour in discourses on the sacred Religion of

the Vedanta and on the invaluable Truth its teachings conveyed.

Sri Ramakrishna passed away on the 16th of August 1886 and his disciples resolved to continue the Holy task of their master and to lead a life of self-denial and renunciation. All of them renounced this worldly life with its trials and its pleasures and organised themselves into a Holy Order. They sacrificed all that the world considers nearest and dearest for the sake of the moral improvement of the country and the advancement of its religion. Of course, Swami Vivekananda was one of them. He took his last and final step with joy and cheerfulness and devoted his life to the noble cause of the Vedanta. After having done some work with his brethren he retired into solitude to the Himalayas for meditation and study. He went to Tibet and studied Buddhism there. Then began his travels throughout the length and breadth of India. From Khatri, where he made the Maharaja a convert to his convictions, he went all along the West coast to Trivandrum and thence to Madras. All the while, he untiringly preached the gospel of the Vedanta and made young Indians realize the glories of her past. When he was in Madras, some cultured men thought it would be good if the Swami was sent to America to represent Hinduism in the Great Parliament of Religions to be held at Chicago. Accordingly they raised subscriptions, provided him with funds and sent him to America, *via* Japan.

When the Swami landed in America, he was in a very sorry plight. The little money he had been

provided with was all spent and the Swami went about a poor forlorn stranger begging his bread from door to door. To an old lady is due the fervent gratitude of the Hindus for having helped the Swami in his dire need. The Swami caught her eye and she thought that he would be a curious specimen for her to exhibit to her friends. She accordingly invited the Swami for dinner which she had arranged to give to a select party of her friends. Instead of being an object of mere diversion our Swami during dinner evoked their astonishment and admiration by his versatile powers of conversation and his rich gifts of head and heart such as are rarely displayed even in the most advanced and civilized circles. His glowing eloquence on Hindu philosophy showed them that the Swami was a man of no mean capacity and some of his learned and abstract disquisitions were beyond the reach of their understanding. So, they asked a professor of philosophy to argue with him: the professor soon found his merit and introduced him to Dr. Barrows, the President of the Parliament of Religions who gladly put him in to represent Hinduism in the Parliament. Our Swami's appearance in that august assembly created quite a sensation. Clad in robes which were considered picturesque in the West, and venerable in the East he dwelt on the majesty and dignity of the Vedanta religion, and his voice, ringing with sympathy and full of manly sincerity, held spell-bound that vast audience and laid before the astonished gaze of the West the rich treasures of the Vedanta philosophy which is the proud heritage of the Indian

people. The humble sanyasin, till now a stranger to fame burst suddenly into prominence. The West at once realized his greatness. The *New York Herald* said, "Vivekananda is undoubtedly the greatest figure in the Parliament of Religions. After hearing him, we feel how foolish it is to send Missionaries to this learned Nation." The *New York Critique* observed, "He is an orator by divine right, and his strong intelligent face, in its picturesque setting of yellow and orange, was hardly less interesting than those earnest words and the rich rhythmical utterance he gave them." Letters came pouring in from all parts of America, inviting him to deliver lectures on philosophy and religion. He did noble work in America and made the Vedanta Religion popular among one of the most materialistic people in the world.

From America, he went over to England where he wielded an influence no less tremendous. In London, he stayed two months constantly engaged in expounding the Vedas and Upanishads. An English paper said "All sorts and conditions of men are to be found in London, but the great city contains just now none more remarkable than the philosopher who represented the Hindu religion at the Parliament of Religions held at Chicago." His labours were crowned with deserved success. His vindication of the Hindu Philosophy attracted the thinking minds, and many disciples flocked to his standard. The most notable among them were Mr. Standsberg (afterwards Swami Kripanand), Madame

Louis (afterwards Swami Abhayananda), Miss Margaret Noble (afterwards Sister Nivedita) J. J. Godwin and Captain Seviere. These were not only his admirers but also sincere workers who contributed their energy and ability to the furtherance of the Great Cause.

On the 16th of December 1896, Vivekananda returned to his Motherland. He landed at Colombo, and from Colombo to Almora his tour was one grand triumphal procession. He was received with open arms by his countrymen and was esteemed and venerated as one of the greatest regenerators and reformers in modern times. His exposition of our ancient philosophy met with ready welcome and his views received hearty acceptance. Wherever he went, he evoked enthusiasm and patriotism by the pictures he presented of the Motherland in her bright, palmy days. But his work did not consist in mere exhortations and pulpit eloquence. He tried to secure stability and permanence to the great work he was doing. His great ambition was to get Vedanta universally accepted and to make the Hindus, the guiding star of all other nations in morality, spirituality and divine philosophy. To attain this ultimate end he strove to awaken the dormant consciousness of the Indian nation and to make Vedanta a living religion. He pointed to his brethren the real and great divergence that existed between their theory and practice. He asked them to weed out the many objectionable and evil practices and customs that had crept into their fold and opened their eyes to the great

moral and social deterioration that had reduced them to their present level. He reorganized the Ramakrishna Mission and founded monasteries and ashramas at Calcutta and Himalayas, for teaching ardent Hindu youths the life of devotion and self-denial. These were his head-quarters for the propagation of the New Gospel. He also started relief work in the dark days of 1897 for the poor and distressed. His work was too much for him and it began to tell upon his health. On medical advice he went again to the West to recruit his health. After a short stay in England, he went to America with his health much improved. He founded the 'Shanti' Ashrama and a Vedanta Society in San Francisco which are now in a flourishing condition. Being invited to France to represent Hinduism in the Congress of Religions held at Paris, he went there and delivered addresses on Hindu Philosophy in French. His health again began to fail and he returned to India much worse than when he left. Nevertheless, he cared more for his cause than for his health. He established a Patasala for the education of the Indian youths and a Home for the Relief of the poor and distressed at Benares. He also founded a mutt for gathering together our itinerant Sadhus and for making them work in union in the noble cause of the Vedanta. He himself assiduously educated youths in Sanskrit philosophy and thought. At this time, a deputation of the Japanese waited upon him to invite him to Japan to improve their tone of spirituality and to give a fresh stimulus to their religious thought. But he

postponed going as his health was in a very indifferent state. But, all the same, he never relaxed his untiring labours at home for the benefit of his fellowmen.

Now, we come to the end of a noble and arduous career. It was a bright and beautiful morning in the month of July 1902. The Swami sat in solemn meditation in the early hours of the day and gave a lesson in Sanskrit language to some new disciples. In the afternoon, he had spiritual consolation by turning to the great Truths of the Vedas and again retired to meditation and Holy thoughts. He had a calm and quiet walk in the evening and on his return sat down in prayer and passed into the state of superconsciousness. At 9 o'clock in the night, his immortal soul left its bodily prison and soared away.

Swami Vivekananda's life was a short one. He lived only for 40 years, but how bright and beautiful is his career and how wonderful and magical is the influence he exercised. He had a majestic personality and rich, ringing voice. His facility of expression was remarkable. He utilized all these gifts in the cause of religion and ethics. He was thoroughly sincere and his heart was full of love and kindness towards his fellowmen. His patriotism was intense and he often dwelt with rapturous pleasure in his lectures and addresses on the greatness of India in her fresh and youthful days. His keen intellect and deep insight made him realize the great Truths of the Vedas which he spread broadcast among many a listening audience. His exposition of the Vedas met with remarkable

success even in the least expected quarters. The key to his great success lies in the fact that he presented the Vedanta religion in such a light as not to do violence to the prevailing scientific doctrines and theories. In fact, he was constantly pointing out the harmony that existed between Vedanta philosophy and modern science. He explained the Hindu system of philosophy and showed what a mass of information and wealth of thought our Upanishads contained. He was a synthetic philosopher and a constructive thinker. His was not the business of the carping critic finding fault with this religion and picking holes in that creed; but his was the grand Mission of preaching the Vedanta religion, the vast illimitable vista of Truth, which contains or has absorbed to itself the great Truths of all the religions and which can satisfy all sorts and conditions of minds. It may be interesting to note some of his great ideas and thoughts which have contributed to the enlightenment and enrichment of the world and his exhortations to his countrymen in the matter of social and moral advancement. Let us first note some of his ideas on religion.

He defined Religion as Realization. This was the crucial idea which he wanted to fix firmly in peoples' minds. He insisted on getting rid of the popular notion that by religion was meant blind faith and that Religion was something beyond the pale of reason. On the other hand he often reiterated that Reason was an indispensable handmaid to Religion. Religion is the Realization of the Atman (the soul). His argument is:

this. How can you reason without facts? The facts which form the basis of your reasoning now are material facts—facts which are perceived by your minds through the senses. When you wish to reason about the soul, about the state of things when your body is not,—when your senses are not, how can these material facts help you? There are certain spiritual internal facts which can be perceived by the mind if directed inward just as these material, external facts are perceived through the senses. You cannot get any help from your senses in this search after Truth as they are channels of communication with this outside world. For the realization and the perception of the Atman, these sense-doors which communicate with the outside should be closed and the mind should be turned inward. Then the great, the infinite Truth reveals itself to you. But, mark you, you cannot take the above statement of facts on trust. What is above stated is no theory or doctrine but a fact. You may realise it for yourself by introspection and meditation just as scientists discover great truths by observation and experiment. This is his famous explanation of Religion which can be found in the form of a beautiful allegorical story in the Katha-Upanishad.

Another great idea of his is that every one has got the infinite, absolute in himself. To these who would contend that this idea will take away the basis for all morality, he says, "Such an argument is the argument of the brutes who can only be kept down by the whip. If you are such a brute, commit suicide first, rather than be such a human being." Again "This and this alone

explains morality. Every religion preaches that the essence of all morality is to do good to others. And why? Because Advaita explains—and no religion has explained it except Advaita—that whomsoever you hurt, you hurt yourself; they are all you.” He vehemently denounced the Christian idea that all human beings are sinners; and said that everyone has got the spark of the Divine in him. This is nothing new to us, Hindus but simply a statement of every-day experience. But the way in which he puts it with his close reasoning and terrible logic, thrusting the doctrine home into the minds of other nations—who were horror-struck at this heterodox idea—is simply wonderful and admirable. Again he warned us against the belief in a personal God. He criticised the conception of God as a personal being as the most selfish and foolish idea. You may have God in the image of a perfect man for the realization of the Atman (the spirit). But it is merely an image, a symbol and nothing more than that. Hindus do not worship images and idols, but they worship, the great One who is represented by them. God has got no form at all—much less the form of Man. He says, “Suppose a cow was philosophical and had religion, it would have a cow universe, and a cow solution of the problem, and it would not be necessary that it should see our God. Suppose cats become philosophers, they would see a cat Universe, and have a cat solution of the problem of the Universe, some cat ruling the Universe.”

He preached also toleration and decried fanaticism and persecution as the greatest foes to true religion.

His grand idea was that Religion was Realization and any particular creed is simply a means, a help towards that Realization. A person can be a Mahomedan, a Christian or a Buddhist and yet may be saved. There may be so many lines radiating to the same centre and there may be ever so many roads leading to the same city. So, toleration was his watchword.

His ideal of a Universal Religion is beautifully and clearly put forward. Again and again, he insists on the fact that Religion is not intellectual assent. You preach Universal Brotherhood and at once form a sect for the propagation of your favourite doctrine. That is the wrong way of going to work. You should recognize the element of Truth which is in all religions. The same Truth can be presented in different lights. Every religion has its philosophy, mythology and ritual. To everyone, the philosophy of his religion is the truth of the Gospel, its mythology a matter of history and its ritual the only sure way to heaven. The philosophy of other religions is to him dogmatic and sophistical assertions; their mythology, rank superstition; their ritual, savage and diabolical rites. This surely ought not to be the way of looking at things. Every religion has got its philosophy, mythology and ritual to appeal to the human mind at the different stages of its development. One religion is as true as another; and a Universal Religion should be one which recognizes this elementary principle. Its work should be constructive and not destructive. It should not aim at destroying any religious faith which a man may have but should take him at the stage where he is

and lift him up. Again, there are different classes of mind which will respond only to particular kinds of stimuli. There is the thinker, the devotée, the mystic and the practical worker. A universal religion should show the way of realization which will be best suited to everyone of these persons. This need is supplied by the Upanishads. The different ways of realization of the Atman, of union with the One are known in Hindu philosophy as the Yoga. There is the Raja Yoga for the mystic, the Gnana Yoga for the thinker, the Karma Yoga for the worker, the Bhakti Yoga for the devotee. The one great principle underlying all these different methods is pursuing your object without regard to the result. In other words you should not aim at sensual gratification as the fruit of your work. For the mind is essentially drawn away when you seek sensual gratification, and it is of the utmost importance that it should be concentrated and directed inwards for the realization of the Atman.

Thus, his whole religious teaching is invaluable for the great truths it contains and apart from its philosophical value, is rich with sound and wholesome advice for his countrymen.

His thoughts on the present social conditions are well-worth remembering. He asked us to throw away our narrow prejudices against foreign travel. He says in a letter written from Japan in 1893, "Come, be men come out of your narrow holes, and have a look abroad—see how nations are on their march—Do you love *man*? Do you love your *country*? Then come, let

us struggle for nobler and higher things—Look not back—no, not even if you see the dearest and nearest cry—look not back but forward march.” He says that our national life is a growth and is the outcome of the development of the ages. All true reform should touch the masses and not only the upper classes. Most of the Reforms that have been agitated for during the last century have been ornamental. Every one of these reforms only touches the first two castes and no other. The question of widow-re-marriage would not touch 70 p. c. of the Indian women and all such questions only reach the higher classes of the Indian people who are educated, mark you, at the expense of the masses. Every effort of these classes has been spent in cleansing their own houses and making themselves nice looking and pretty before foreigners. This is no reformation. You must go down to the basis of the thing, the very roots. Again he was for social reform on national lines in accordance with our old traditions and condition. “We must grow according to our natural growth. Vain it is to attempt the lines of action foreign societies have engrafted upon us. Impossible it is. Glory unto God that it is impossible that we cannot be twisted and tortured into the shape of other nations. I do not condemn the institutions of other races; they are good for them and not for us. What is meat for them may be poison to us. This is the first lesson to learn. With other sciences, other traditions behind them, they have got their present system; we, with our traditions, with thousands of years of Karma behind us can naturally

follow our own bents, run in our own grooves and that we shall have to do! On the question of caste, he was for educating the other castes and bringing them up to the level of the Brahmin rather than for lowering the Brahmin to the level of the other castes. He says very truly that caste fightings dissipate the national energy and impede the national development. The days of exclusive privileges for the Brahmin is gone : and every caste being exclusive, there is nothing in the way of any class or caste organizing itself and calling itself Brahmin. His practical advice for the non-Brahmin is to learn Sanskrit. He observed : " In India, Sanskrit and Prestige go hand in hand. If a Non-Brahmin learns Sanskrit, then he is equal to a Brahmin. His advice for the Brahmin was to get rid of his ignorant prejudices and to behave towards the lower castes at least according to the dictates of ordinary common-sense. He was very severe on the point. He said, ' The duty of every aristocracy is to dig its own grave and the sooner it does the better. The more it delays, the more it will fester and die a worse death. It is the duty of the Brahmin, therefore, to work for the salvation of the rest of mankind in India.' On the question of Education he says that our present system of education, notwithstanding all its good points, is not a ' man-making education.' It is merely and entirely a negative education which is worse than death. Again, Education is not the amount of information that is put undigested into your brain and running riot there, and making a battle of Waterloo all your life. We must have life-

building, man-making, character-making, assimilation of ideas. If you have assimilated five ideas and made them your life and character, you have more education than any man who can give by heart the whole library."

His speeches and letters bristle with beautiful original thoughts. In his lecture on Realization, he says,—
'Now, we are not much more moral than the animals in the street. We are only held down by the whips of society. If society said to-day, I will not punish you if you go and steal, we should just make a rush for everyone's property. It is the policeman that makes us moral.' Then 'It is our necessities which make our heaven and our heaven changes with the change of necessities.' Again, 'Liberty is the first condition of growth.' 'Civilization of a people is not to be measured by the number of husbands its widows get.' 'Instinct is in solved reason.' 'Every evolution is preceded by an involution. Vedas are the accumulation of the Treasury of spiritual laws discovered by men at different times.

Thus we see that Swami Vivekananda was a man of brilliant genius and great powers of exposition who sacrificed his life on the altar of his great cause. His devotion, sincerity, sympathy and above all his glorious self-sacrifice are lessons which we may do well to deeply engrave in our hearts. He was the morning star of our Religious Revival and marks the beginning of the revolt of spiritual India against the materialistic philosophy of the West. He was untiring in preaching us union and harmonious living and warned us again and again, against fighting for favourite dogmas—and unrealizable ideals.

His earnest words of advice for us are to realize the present conditions and do what we can for the benefit of our countrymen without paying any regard of enjoying the fruits of our actions. May his teachings hush up all discord among us and may the memory of the patriotic sage be ever green in our minds.

THE IDEAL OF A UNIVERSAL RELIGION

How it must embrace different types of minds and methods

Wheresoever our senses reach, or whatsoever our minds imagine, we find therein the action and reaction of two forces, the one counteracting the other and causing the constant play of the mixed phenomena that we see around us and of those which we feel in our minds. In the external world, the action of these opposite forces is expressing itself, in relation to physical matter as attraction and repulsion, or as centripetal and centrifugal action. In the internal world, it explains the various mixed feelings of our nature, *viz.*, the opposites, love and hatred, good and evil. We repel some things, we attract some other things. We are attracted by some one, we are repelled by some one else. Many times in our lives we find that without any reason whatsoever we are, as it were attracted towards certain persons; at other times, similarly mysteriously, we are repelled by others. This is patent to all and the higher the field of action, the more potent, the more remarkable, are the influences of these opposite forces. Religion is the highest plane of human thought and life, and herein we find that the workings of these two forces have been most marked. The intensest love that

humanity has ever known has come from religion, and the most diabolical hatred that humanity has known has also come from religion. The noblest words of peace that the world has ever had have come from men on the religious plane, and the bitterest denunciation that the world has ever known has sprung also from religious men. The higher the object to any religion, the finer its organization, the more remarkable are its activities. So we find that in religion these two forces have been very markedly active. No other human interest has deluged the world so much in blood as religion; at the same time nothing has built so many hospitals and asylums for the poor; no other human influence has taken such care not only of humanity, but also of the lowest of animals as religion. Nothing makes us so cruel as religion, nothing makes us so tender as religion. This has been so in past, and will, in all probability, be so in the future also. Yet from the midst of this din and turmoil, and strife and struggling, the hatred and jealousy of religions and sects, there have arisen, from time to time, potent voices, crying above all this noise—making themselves heard from pole to pole, as it were,—crying for peace, for harmony. Will it ever come?

Our subject for discussion is, 'Is it possible that there ever should reign unbroken harmony in this plane of mighty religious struggle?' The world is agitated in the latter part of this century by consideration of harmony: in society, various plans are being proposed, various attempts are made to carry

them into practice ; but we know how difficult it is to do so. People find that it is almost impossible to mitigate the fury of the struggle of life to tone down the tremendous nervous tension that is in man. Now, if it is so difficult to bring harmony and peace and love into this small span of life, the physical plane of man, the external, gross outward side, a thousand times more difficult it is, to bring peace and harmony to rule over the internal nature of men. I would ask you for the time being to come out of the network of words ; we have all been hearing from childhood of such things as love, and peace, and charity and equality, and universal brotherhood. But they have become to us more words without meaning, words which we repeat like parrots, and it has become quite natural for us to do so. We cannot help it. Great gigantic souls, who felt in their hearts these great ideas first, manufactured these words ; and at that time many understood their meaning. Later on ignorant people have taken up those words to play with them and religion has become a mere play upon words in their hands, upon mere frothy words, there being nothing to them in it all to be carried into practice. It becomes "my father's religion," "our nation's religion," "your country's religion" and so forth. It becomes only a phase of patriotism to profess any religion, and patriotism is always partial. To bring harmony into religion, therefore, must be most difficult. Yet we shall try to study this problem of the harmony of religions.

We see that in every religion there are three parts

—I mean in every great and recognized religion. First there is the *philosophy*—the doctrines, and the ideals of that religion—which embodies the goal, embodies, as it were, the whole scope of that religion, lays before its votaries and followers the foundation principle of that religion and the way to reach the goal; next, that philosophy itself seem to be concretely embodied in a mythology. So the second part is *mythology*. This mythology comes in, in the form of lives of men, or of supernatural beings, and so forth. It is the same thing as philosophy made a little more concrete the abstractions of philosophy concretized in the more or less imaginary lives of men and supernatural beings. The last part is the *ritual*. This is still more concrete, and is made up of forms and ceremonies, various physical attitudes, flowers and incense and many other things that appeal to the senses. In this consists the ritual. You will find that, everywhere, recognized religions have all these three elements. Some lay more stress on one element, some on the other. Let us first take into consideration the first part, philosophy. Is there any one universal philosophy for the whole world? Not yet. Each religion brings out its own doctrines, and insists upon them as being solely its own doctrines, and insists upon them as being the only true ones. And not only does it do that, but it thinks that the man, who does not believe in them, must go to some horrible place. Some of them will not stop there; they will even draw the sword to compel others to believe as they do. This is not

through wickedness, but through a particular disease of the human brain called fanaticism. They are very sincere, these fanatics, the most sincere of human beings; but they are quite as irresponsible as all other lunatics are in the world.

This disease of fanaticism is one of the most dangerous of all diseases. All the wickedness of human nature is roused by it. Anger is stirred up, nerves are strung high, and human beings become like tigers. Then again is there any mythological similarity, is there any mythological harmony, any universal mythology accepted by all religions? Certainly not. All religions have their own mythology, only each of them says, "My stories are not mere myths." For instance, let us try to take the question home here. I simply mean to illustrate it; I do not mean any criticism of any religion. The Christian believes that God took the shape of a dove, and came down to the earth; and to him this is history, and not mythology. The Hindu believes that God is manifested in the cow. Christians say that to believe so is mere mythology, and not history, that it is superstition. The Jews think that, if an image be made in the form of a box or a chest, with an angel on either side, then it may be placed in the Holy of Holies; it is sacred to Jehovah: but if the image be made in the form of a beautiful man or woman, they say, "This is a horrible idol; break it down!" This is our unity in mythology! If a man stands up and says "My prophet did such and such a wonderful thing," others say that it is all superstition; but their own prophet did a still more wonderful

thing; they hold that it is historical. Nobody in the world, as far as I have seen, is able to find out the fine distinction between history and mythology, as it exists in the brains of these gentlemen. All such stories, to whomsoever they may belong, are really mythological, mixed up occasionally, it may be, with a little history.

Next come the rituals. One sect has one particular form of ritual, and thinks that that is the holy form, and that the rituals of another sect are simply arrant superstition. If one sect worships a peculiar sort of symbol, another sect says "Oh it's horrible." Take for instance the most general form of symbol. The phallic symbol is certainly a sexual symbol, but gradually that aspect of it has been forgotten, and it stands now as a symbol of the Creator. Those nations which have this as their symbol never think of it as the phallus; it is just a symbol, and there it ends. But a man from another race or creed sees in it nothing but the phallus, and begins to condemn it; yet at the same time he may be doing something which to this so-called phallic worshipper appears most horrible. Let me take two points for illustration, the phallus symbol and the sacrament of the Christians. To the Christians the phallus is horrible, and to the Hindus the Christian sacrament is horrible. They say that the Christian sacrament, the killing of a man and the eating of his flesh and the drinking of his blood to get the good qualities of that man, is cannibalism. This is what some of the savage tribes do; if a man is brave they

kill him and eat his heart, because they think that it will give them the qualities of courage and bravery possessed by that man. Even such a devout Christian as Sir John Lubbock admits this, and says that the origin of this Christian symbol is in this savage idea. The Christians generally do not admit this view of its origin; and what it may imply never comes to their mind. It stands for a holy thing and that is all they want to know. So even in rituals there is no universal symbol which can command general recognition and acceptance. Where then is any universality? How is it possible then to have a universal form of religion? That, however, already exists. And let us see what it is.

We all hear about universal brotherhood, and how societies stand up particularly to preach this. I remember an old story. In India, wine drinking is considered very horrible. There were two brothers who wanted to drink some wine, secretly, in the night; and their uncle, who was a very strongly old-fashioned man, was sleeping in a room quite near where they were going to have their drinking. So before they began to drink, each of them said to the other "Silence, uncle will wake up." As they went on drinking, they began to shout to each other. "Silence uncle will wake up." And, as the shouting increased, uncle woke up; and he came into the room and found out the whole thing. Universal brotherhood—that is, we all shout like drunken men. "We are all equal, therefore let us make a sect." As soon as you make a sect you protest against

equality, and thus it is no more. Mohammedans talk of universal brotherhood, but what comes out of them in reality? Nobody who is not a Mohammedan will be admitted into the brotherhood; he will have his throat cut. The Christians talk of universal brotherhood; but anyone who is not a Christian must go to that place, and be eternally barbecued.

It is thus that we are being carried on in this world in our search after universal brotherhood and equality, universal equality of property, and thought, and everything. And I would simply ask you to look askance, and be a little reticent, and take a little care yourselves when you hear such talk in this world; behind it many times comes the intensest selfishness. "In the winter sometimes a cloud comes; it roars and roars, but it does not rain; but in the rainy season the clouds speak not, but deluge the world with water." So those who are *really* workers, and *really* feel at heart the universal brotherhood of man, do not talk much, do not make little sects for universal brotherhood; but their acts, their whole body, their posture, their movements, their walking, eating, drinking, their whole life show out clearly that they in truth possess the feeling of brotherhood for mankind that they have love and sympathy for all. They do not speak, they *do* and they *live*. This world is getting full of blustering talk. We want a little more of earnest work, and much less of talk.

So far we see that it is hard to find any universal features in regard to religion, and yet we know that:

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they exist. We are all human beings, but are we equal? Certainly not who says we are equal. Only the man who is a lunatic; he alone can say we are equal.

Are we all equal in our brains, in our powers, in our bodies? One man is stronger than another, one has more brain power than another. If we are all equal, why is there this inequality? Who made it? We say, "Because we have more or less of brain, more or less of physical strength, it must make a difference between one and another of us." Yet we know that the doctrine of equality appeals to our hearts.

Take another case. We are all human beings here, but there are some men, and some women. Here is a black man, there a white man; but all are men. All belong to one humanity. Various are our faces. I see no two faces here the same, yet we are all human beings. Where is this one humanity? I cannot find it. When I try to analyse it I do not find where it is. Either I find a man or a woman; either dark or fair; and among all these faces, that abstract humanity which is the common thing—I do not find it when I try to grasp it, to sense it, and actually perceive it, and think of it. It is beyond the senses; it is beyond thought, beyond the mind. Yet I know it. I am certain that it is there. If I am certain of anything here, it is of this humanity which is common to us all. I cannot directly and distinctly perceive it. This humanity is a manifestation of God. "In him we live and move and have our being."

is through this generalised entity that I see you as a man or a woman yet, when I try to catch and formulate it it is nowhere, because it is beyond the senses; and yet we know that in it, and through it, everything exists. So it is with this universal oneness and sympathy, this universal religion which runs through all the various religions of the world in the form of God! It must and does exist through eternity. "I am the thread that runs through all these pearls," and each pearl is a religion or even a sect thereof. Such are the different pearls, and the Lord is the thread that runs through all of them; only the majority of mankind are entirely unconscious of it; yet they are all working in God, and through God; not a moment, can they stand outside, because all work is only possible through and in Him; we cannot define Him, He is God himself.

Unity in variety is the plan of the universe. We are all men, and yet we are all distinct from one another. As Humanity I am one with you, and as Mr. So-and-So I am different from you. As a man you are separate from the woman: as a human being you are one with the woman. As a man you are separate from the animal, but as a living being, the man, the woman, the animal, the plant, are all one; and as existence, you are one with the whole universe. That universal existence is God, the ultimate unity in the universe. In Him we are all one. At the same time, in manifestation, these differences must and will always remain. In our work, in our energies as

they are being manifested outside, these differences must continue to remain always. We find then that if by the idea of a universal religion it is meant that one set of doctrines should be believed in by all mankind, it is wholly impossible; it can never be, there can never be a time when all faces will be the same. Again if we expect that there will be one universal mythology, that is also impossible; it cannot be. Neither can there be one universal ritual. Such a state of thing can never come into existence; if it ever did, the world would be destroyed, because variety is the first principle of life. What makes us formed beings? Differentiation. Perfect balance would be our destruction. Suppose the amount of heat in this room, the tendency of which is towards equal and perfect diffusion, gets that kind of diffusion, then for all practical purposes that heat will cease to be. What makes motion possible in this universe? Lost balance, that is all. The unity of sameness can come only when this universe is destroyed, otherwise such a thing is impossible. Not only so, it is dangerous to have it. We must not seek that all of us should think alike. There would then be no thought to think. We should be all alike, like the Egyptian mummies in a museum, looking at each other without a thought to think. It is this difference, this differentiation, this losing of the balance between us, which is the very soul of our progress, the soul of all our thoughts. This must always be.

What then do I mean by the ideal of universal religion? I do not mean any one universal philoso-

phy or any one universal mythology, or any one universal ritual, held alike by all; but I mean that this world must go on working with its wheels within wheels, this intricate mass of complex machinery, most intricate, most wonderful. What can *we* do then? We may make it run smoothly, we may lessen the friction, we may grease the wheels, as it were. How? By recognizing the natural necessity of variation. Just as we have recognised unity by our very nature, so we must learn that truth may be expressed in a hundred thousand ways and that each of these ways is true as far as it goes. We must learn that the same thing can be viewed from a hundred different standpoints, and yet be the same thing. Take for instance the sun. Suppose a man standing on the earth looks at the sun when it rises in the morning; he sees a big ball. Suppose he starts on a journey towards the sun and takes a camera with him taking photographs at every stage of his journey; at every thousand miles, say, he takes a fresh photograph, and goes on until he reaches the sun. The photograph of each stage is different from the others, in fact, when he gets back, he brings with him so many thousands of photographs of so many different suns, it would appear; and yet we know that the same sun was photographed by the man at the different stages of his progress. Even so is it with the Lord. Greater or less, through high philosophy or low, through the highest or lowest doctrines, through the most refined mythology or the most gross one, through the most refined ritualism or the grossest fetishism, every sect, every soul, every nation, every religion; consciously

or unconsciously is struggling upward, Godward; and every vision of truth that man has, is a vision of Him and of none else. Suppose that every one of us goes with a vessel in his or her hand to fetch water from a lake. Suppose one has a cup, another a jar, another a bigger jar, and so forth, and we all fill our vessels. When we take them up, the water in each case has naturally got into the form of the vessel owned by each of us. He who brought the cup, has the water in the form of a cup; he who brought the jar, has water in the shape of a jar; and so forth; but, in every case, water, and nothing but water, is in the vessel. So it is in the case of religion; our minds are like these little vessels, and each one of us is trying to arrive at the realisation, God. God is like that water filling these different vessels, and in each vessel, the vision of God comes in the form of the vessel. Yet God is One. He is God in every one of the visions. This is the only recognition of universality that we can get at.

So far it is all right theoretically, but is there any way of practically working out this religious harmony? We find that this recognition, that all the various views of religion are true has been very very old. Hundreds of attempts have been made in India, in Egypt, in Europe, in China, in Japan, in Tibet, latest in America—in various countries attempts have been made to formulate a harmonious religious creed to make all religions come together in love. They have all failed because they did not adopt any practical plan. Many have admitted that all the religions of the world are

right, but they show no practical way of bringing them together, so as to enable each of them to maintain its own individuality in the conflux. That plan alone is practical, which does not destroy the individuality of any man in religion, and at the same time shows him a point of union with all others. But so far, all the plans of religious harmony that have been tried while proposing to take in all the various views of religion, have in practice, tried to bind them all down to a few set doctrines, and so have produced more and more of fresh sects, fighting, struggling and pushing against each other.

I have also my little plan. I do not know whether it will work or not, and I want to present it to you for discussion. What is my plan? In the first place, I would ask mankind to recognize this maxim—"Do not destroy." Iconoclastic reformers do no good to the world. Break not, pull not anything down, but build. Help if you can; if you cannot, fold your hands and stand by and see things go on. Do not injure, if you cannot render help. Say not a word against any man's convictions so far as they are sincere. Secondly, take man where he stands, and from thence give him a lift. If it be right that God is the centre of the circle of religions, and that each of us is moving towards Him along one of the radii it is then certain that all of us *must* reach that centre. And at the centre, where all the radii meet, all our differences will cease: but until we have come there, differences there must be.

All these radii do converge to the same centre. One of us is by nature travelling along one of these lines, and another along another; and we have all to push on along the line we are in, and we shall all surely come to the centre, because "all roads lead to Rome."

Each of us is naturally growing and developing according to his own nature; each will in time come to know that highest truth, for after all men must teach themselves. What can you and I do? Do you think you can teach even a child? You cannot. The child teaches himself. Your duty is to afford opportunities and to remove obstacles. A plant grows. Do *you* make the plant grow? Your duty is to put a hedge round and see that no animal eats up the plant, and there it ends. The plant must grow itself. So it is regard to the spiritual growth of every man. None can teach you; none make a spiritual man of you; you have to teach yourself; your growth must come from inside.

What can an external teacher do? He can remove the obstructions a little, and there his duty ends. Therefore help, if you can; but do not destroy. Give up all ideas that you can make men spiritual. It is impossible. There is no other teacher to you than your own soul. Admit this. What comes of it? In society we see so many various natures of man. There are thousands and thousands of varieties of minds and inclinations. A practical and thorough generalization is impossible; but for my purpose it is sufficient to have them characterized into four classes. First there is the *active* working man; he wants to work; there is tre-

mendous energy in his muscles and his nerves. His aim is to work, build hospitals, do charitable deeds, make streets, perform all sorts of work, planning organizing; he is an active man. There is the *emotional* man, who loves the sublime and the beautiful to an excessive degree. He wants to think of the beautiful, to enjoy the aesthetic side of nature, adore Love and the God of Love; it is these things he likes. He loves with his whole heart those great souls of ancient times, the prophets of religions, the incarnations of God on earth; he does not care whether reason can or cannot prove that Christ existed; or that Buddha existed; he does not care for the exact date when the *Sermon on the Mount* was preached, or for the exact moment of Krishna's birth; what he cares for is His personality, the lovable figure before him. He does not at all care to know whether it can or cannot be proved that those who are the ideal objects of his love really existed or not. Such a nature, as I have pictured, is the lover, he is the emotional man. Then there is the *mystic* man, whose mind wants to analyse its own self, understand the workings of the human minds its psychology, what the forces are that are working inside, how to manipulate and know and obtain control over them. This is the mystical mind. There is then the *philosopher*, who wants to weigh everything and use his intellect even beyond the possibilities of all human philosophy.

Now a religion, to satisfy the largest proportion of mankind, must be able to supply food for all these

various type of minds ; and where this capability is wanting, the existing sects become all one sided. You go to one sect. Suppose they preach love and emotion. They begin to sing and weep, and they preach love and all sorts of good things in life ; but as soon as you say " My friend, that is all right, but I want something stronger than that ; give me an ounce of reason, a little philosophy ; I want to handle things step by step and a little more rationally." " Get out," they say, and they not only ask you to get out, but would send you to the other place, if they could. The result is this—that sect can only hold people of an emotional mind, and none else ; others, they not only do not help, but try to destroy ; and the most wicked part of the whole thing is, that they will not only *not* help others, but do not believe that these others are sincere, and think that the sooner these others get out the better it would be for all concerned. There is the failing of the whole thing. Suppose you are in a sect of philosophers, talking of the mystic wisdom of India and the East and using all the big psychological terms fifty syllables long, and suppose a man like me, a common every-day man goes there and says, " Can you tell me anything to make me spiritual ?" The first thing they do is to smile and say, " Oh you are too far below us in reason to be with us ! What do you know of spirituality ?" There are high-up philosophers. They simply show you the door. Then there are the mystical sects, who say all sorts of things about different planes of existence, different states of the mind, and what the power of the

mind can do and so on; and if you are an ordinary man and say "Show me anything good that I can do, I am not given much to that sort of speculation; can you give me anything that fits me?" They will smile at you, and say "Look at that fool; he is nobody; the only thing we advise you to do is to commit suicide, your existence is for nothing." And this is going on everywhere in the world. I would like to get extreme exponents of all these different sects, and shut them up in a room, and photograph that beautiful derisive smile of theirs!

This is the existing fashion of religious human nature, the existing condition of things. What I want to propagate is a religion that will be equally acceptable to all minds; it must be equally philosophic, equally emotional, equally mystic, and equally conducive to action. If your professors from the Colleges come, your scientific men and physicists, they will court reason. Let them have it as much as they desire. There must be a point where they will all have to give up sticking to reason, and say that they cannot go beyond. If they say "Give up this or that thing, it is superstitious: these ideas of God and salvation, are superstition"; I say "Mr. Philosopher, it is a bigger superstition, this body of yours. Give *it* up, don't go home to dinner or to your philosophic chair. Give up the body, and if you cannot, cry quarter, and sit down there." In every religion there must be the philosophic side, and we must be able to show how philosophy teaches us that this world is all one, that

there is but one all-comprehending existence in the universe. Similarly, if the mystic comes, we must be ready to give him the science of mental analysis, and practically demonstrate it before him. Here you are come, learn; nothing is "done in a corner." And if emotional people come, we must sit with them and laugh with them and weep with them in the name of the Lord; we must "drink the cup of love and become mad." If the energetic worker comes we must go and work with him, work with all the energy that he has. And this combination will be the ideal of the nearest approach to a universal religion. Would to God that all men were so harmoniously built up, that in their minds, all these various elements of philosophy, of mysticism, of emotion and of work were equally fully present! And yet, that is the ideal, my ideal of a perfect man. Everyone who has only one or two of these elements of character I call "one-sided"; and this world is almost full of such "one sided" men with the knowledge of the only one road in which they can move; and anything else is dangerous and horrible to them. The attempt to help mankind to become beautifully balanced in all these four directions, is my ideal of religion. And this religion is what we, in India, call Yoga—union between God and man, union between the lower self and the higher self. To the worker, it is union between man and the whole of humanity; to the mystic between his lower and higher self; to the lover, union between him and the

of knowledge. To get these mental instruments evolved the germs must be there. And this must also be remembered, that one instrument is a development out of other, and therefore does not contradict the other. It is reason that develops into inspiration, and therefore inspiration does not contradict reason, but fulfils it. Things which reason cannot get at, are brought to light by inspiration; and they do not contradict reason. The old man does not contradict the child, but fulfils the child. Therefore you must always bear in mind that the great danger here lies in mistaking the lower form of instrument to be the higher. Many times instinct is presented before the world as inspiration, and then come all the spurious claims for the gift of prophecy. A fool or a semi-lunatic thinks that the confusion going on in his brain is inspiration, and he wants men to follow him. The most contradictory, irrational nonsense that has been preached in the world is simply the instinctive jargon of confused lunatic brains trying to pass for the language of inspiration.

The first test of true teaching must be, that the teaching should *not* contradict reason. And you may see that such is the basis of all these *Yogas*. We take the *Raja-Yoga*, the psychological *Yoga*, the psychological way to union. It is a vast subject, and I can only point out to you now the central idea of this *Yoga*. There is but one method that we have in regard to acquiring all knowledge. From the lowest to the highest, from the smallest worm to the highest *Yogi*, all have to use the same method; and that method is what

is called concentration. The chemist who is working in his laboratory has concentrated all the powers of his mind, and brought them into one focus, and thrown them on the elements; and they stand analysed, and his knowledge comes out. The astronomer has also concentrated the powers of his mind, and brought them into one focus and he throws them on to objects through his telescope, and stars and systems roll forward and give up their secrets to him. So it is in every case; with the professor in his chair, the student with his book and with every man who is working to know. You are hearing me, and if my words interest you, your mind will become concentrated on them; and then suppose a clock strikes or something happens, you will not at all know that on account of this concentration; and the more you are able to concentrate your mind the better you will understand me, and the more I concentrate my love and powers, the better I shall be able to give expression to what I want to convey to you; and the more this power of concentration is in the mind, the more knowledge can it get, because this is the one and only method of acquiring knowledge. Even the lowest shoeblick, if he has more concentration, will black the shoes the better; the cook with concentration will cook a meal the better. In making money, or in worshipping God, or in doing anything, the stronger the power of concentration, the better will that thing be done. This is the one kind of call, the one knock, which opens the gates of nature, and lets out the floods of light. This is the only key to the treasure-

house of knowledge, the one power of concentration. The system of *Raja-Yoga* deals almost exclusively with this. In the present state of our body we are so much distracted, the mind is frittering away its energies upon a hundred sorts of things. As soon as I try to calm my thoughts, and concentrate my mind upon any one object of knowledge, thousands of undesired impulses rush into the brain, thousands of varied thoughts rush into the mind and disturb it. How to check that—bring the mind under control—this is the whole subject of study in *Raja-Yoga*.

We take the next, *Karma-Yoga*, the attainment of God through world. It is evident in society how there are so many persons who seem to be born for some sort of activity or other, whose mind cannot be concentrated on the plane of thought alone and who have but one idea which is to them concretised in work, visible and tangible. There must be a science for this kind of life too. Each one of us is engaged in some kind of work, but the majority of us fritter away the greater portion of our energies, because we do not know the secret of how to work. Where and when to work and how to work is the secret, how to employ well the largest part, if not the whole, of our energies, how to bring them all to bear on the work that is before us; and along with this secret comes also into consideration the knowledge of the great objection against all work, namely, that work must and does cause pain. All misery and pain come from attachment. I want to do work. I want to do

good to a human being; and it is ninety to one that that human being, whom I have helped, will prove ungrateful, and go against me; and the result to me is pain. Such things will deter mankind from working, and it spoils a good portion of the work and energy of mankind, this fear of pain and of misery. *Karma-Yoga* teaches us how to work for work's sake, unattached, without caring who is helped, and what for. The *Karma-Yogin* works through his own nature, because he feels that it is good for him to go on doing work, and he has no object beyond that. His station in this world is that of a giver, and he never cares to receive anything. He knows that he is giving, and does not ask for anything in return and therefore he eludes the grasp of misery. The grasp of pain whenever it comes is the result of the reaction of "attachment."

There is then the *Bhakti-Yoga* for the man of emotional nature, the lover. He wants to love God, he relies upon and uses all sorts of rituals, flowers and incense, beautiful buildings, forms and all such things. Do you mean to say they are wrong? One fact I must tell you. It is better for you to remember, in this country especially, that the world's great spiritual giants have all been produced only by those religious sects which have been in possession of very rich mythology and ritual. All those sects that have attempted to worship God without any form or ceremony, have crushed without mercy everything that is beautiful and sublime in religion. Their religion is a fanaticism at best, a dry

thing. The history of the world is a standing witness to this fact. Therefore do not decry these rituals and these mythologies. Let people have them; let those who so desire go through them. Do not exhibit that unworthy derisive smile, and say "They are fools; let them have it." Not so; the greatest men I have seen in my life, the most wonderfully developed in spirituality, have all come from the discipline of these rituals. I do not hold myself worthy to stand at their feet. For *me* to criticise *them*! How do I know how these ideas act upon the human mind, which I am to accept and which to reject? We are apt to go on criticising in the world without sufficient warrant. Therefore let them have it. Let people have all the mythology they want, all its beautiful inspirations they stand in need of; for you must always bear in mind that these emotional natures do not care for your abstract definitions of the truth. God to them is something which is almost tangible, the only thing that is real; they feel, hear and see it and love it; they do not stop to analyse it. Your rationalist seems to them to be like that fool, who, when he saw a beautiful statue, wanted to break it to pieces to make out the material it was made of. Let them have their God. *Bhakti-Yoga* teaches them how to love, how to love without any ulterior motives, loving God and loving the good because it is good to do so, not for going to heaven, nor, for instance, to get children, or wealth, or anything else. It teaches them that love itself is the highest recompense of love—the

old doctrine that God himself is love. It teaches them to pay all kinds of tribute to God as the Creator, the omnipresent, omniscient, almighty Ruler, the Father and the Mother ; the highest phrase that can mention Him, the highest idea that the human mind can conceive of him, is that he is the God of love. " Wherever there is any love, it is He, the Lord, present there " Where the husband kisses the wife, He is there in the kiss ; where the mother kisses the child, He is there in the kiss ; friends clasp their hands, He the Lord, is there present in the hand-clasp standing as the God of love. When a great man loves and wishes to help mankind, He is there giving freely His bounty out of his love to mankind. Wherever the heart expands, He is there manifested. This is what the *Bhakti-Yoga* teaches.

We lastly come to the *Jnana-Yogin*, the philosopher, the thinker, he who wants to go beyond the visible. He is the man who is not satisfied with any or all of the little things of this world. His idea is to go far beyond the daily routine of eating, drinking and so on. Not even the teaching of thousands of books will satisfy him. Not even the whole circle of the sciences will satisfy him. They only bring this little world at best before him. What else gives him satisfaction ? Not even myriads of systems of worlds like those in the Milky Way, not even the whole of the phenomenal universe itself, will satisfy him ; all that is to him only a drop in the ocean of existence. His soul wants to go beyond all that into the very heart of being, by seeing reality as it is ; by realizing it, by being it, by becoming

one with that Universal Being. That is the philosopher, to him God is not merely the Father or the Mother, not merely the Creator of this universe, its Protector, its Guide; these are all inadequate words to express him. To him God is the life of his life, the soul of his soul. God is his own Self. Nothing else then remains attached to him which is other than God. All the mortal parts of him become pounded by the weighty strokes of philosophy, and are brushed away. What at last truly remains is God Himself.

Upon the same tree there are two birds, one on the top, the other rather below. The one on the top is calm and silent, majestic, immersed in its own glory; the one below, on the lower branches eating sweet and bitter fruits by turns, hopping from branch to branch, is becoming happy and miserable by turns. After a time the lower bird eats an exceptionally bitter fruit, and gets disgusted and looks up; and here is the other bird, that wondrous one of golden plumage. He eats nothing, neither sweet nor bitter. Neither is he happy nor miserable, but calm; the self-centred one, nothing beyond his self. But the lower bird soon forgets this condition of the higher and again begins to eat the sweet and bitter fruits of that tree. In a little while another exceptionally bitter fruit comes; he feels again miserable, looks up and goes forward, and tries to get nearer and nearer to the upper bird. Again he forgets and again he looks up, and so he goes on again and again. After a time a very exceptionally bitter fruit comes, again he looks

up, and comes nearer, and nearer, and nearer, the reflections of light from the plumage of that bird play around his own body, and he changes and seems to melt away; still nearer he comes, everything about him melts away altogether, and at last he understands this wonderful change. The lower bird was, as it were, only the substantial looking shadow, reflection; he, himself, was in essence the upper bird all the time. The eating of fruits sweet and bitter, this lower bird, weeping and happy by turns, was a vain chimera, a dream; all along the real bird was there, above, calm and silent, glorious and majestic, beyond grief, beyond sorrow. The upper bird is God, the Lord of this universe; and the lower bird is the human soul, eating the sweet and bitter fruits of this world. Now and then comes a heavy blow to this soul. For a time he stops the eating and goes towards the unknown God just for a moment, and a flood of light comes. He thinks that this world is a vain one. He goes a little further, yet again the senses drag him down, and he begins as before to eat the sweet and bitter fruits of the world. Again an exceptionally hard blow comes. His heart becomes open again to divine light; thus he approaches, and as he gets nearer and nearer, he finds his old self melting away, and learns that he is no other than God. When he has come near enough he exclaims, "He whom I have preached to you as the Life of this universe, as He who is present in the atom, who is present in the big suns and moons, He is the basis of our own life, the background of our soul

"Nay, thou art That." That is what this *Jnana-Yoga* teaches. It tells man that he is essentially divine. It shows to mankind the real unity of being, that each one of us is the Lord God Himself, manifested on earth. All of us, from the lowest worm that crawls under our feet to the highest beings at whom we look with wonder and awe, all are manifestations of the same Lord.

Lastly, it is imperative that all these various *Yogas* have to be carried out in practice; mere theories about them will not do. First we have to hear, then we have to think about them. We have next to reason the thoughts out, impress them on our minds, and we have to meditate on them; realize them, until they at last become our whole life. No longer then will religion remain as a bundle of ideas or theories; it enters into our very Self. Religion is realization, not talk, nor doctrine, nor theories, however beautiful they may be. It is being and becoming, not hearing or acknowledging; it is not an intellectual assent, but the whole soul becoming changed into what it believes in. That is religion. By means of intellectual assent we may to-day subscribe to many foolish things, and change our mind altogether the next day; but this being and becoming is what is lasting religion.



Lala Hans Raj

LALA HANS RAJ

Thy soul was like a star and dwelt apart,
Pure as the heavens, majestic, free,
So didst thou travel on life's common way,
In cheerful godliness; and yet thy heart
The lowliest duties on herself did lay.

Wordsworth, Sonnet to Milton.

"There is no surer method," says Professor Blackie, "of becoming good, and it may be great also than an early familiarity with the lives of great and good men." "So far as my experience goes," continues he, "there is no kind of sermon so effective as the example of a great man. Here we see the thing done before us—actually done—a thing of which we were not even dreaming; and the voice speaks forth to us with a potency like the voice of many waters, *Go thou and do likewise.*"

Having known the saintly principal of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College for so many years we are convinced that the study of his life is a "sure method of becoming good and it may be great also." He has profoundly affected the public life of the province by his selfless labours for the last 25 years. In fact, if we

were asked to name one man who has contributed most to the growth and development of genuine public spirit in the Punjab, we would without a moment's hesitation name Lala Hans Raj. In his own province his name is not a household word, as some other names are; in other provinces he is very little known. But if he does not dazzle his countrymen and shed a fierce light extending even to the remote corners of the Motherland, it is because by nature he is quiet, and the bustle of life is positively distasteful to him; it is because he chooses not to dazzle but merely to warm.

Lala Hans Raj was born in 1861, in the small romantic and historic town of Bajwara, situated at the foot of the Himalayan Range, at a distance of three miles from Hoshiarpore. The town still possesses the ruins of magnificent buildings and the dilapidated remains of a fortress built by Raja Sansur Chand, the powerful Katoch chief, to bear witness to the grandeur which it once possessed. It stands on the banks of a natural brook, and is surrounded on all sides, by a jungle of small growth, interspersed with lofty trees of all sorts, presenting, on the whole, a scenery which is most calculated to expand the faculties of observation and natural appreciation. It was in the midst of this beautiful natural scenery that the infant and child Hans Raj was brought up. Even to-day the appreciation of natural beauty is a feature in his life and whenever he can snatch a little time from his multifarious engagements, he goes out to roam in the forest on the banks of the *Ravi*.

Lala Hans Raj was hardly ten years of age when his father seemed to be going the way of all the mortals. Seeing the approaching end of her husband, the mother of Lala Hans Raj pointed to her children and referred to the poverty of the family. The dying father of Lala Hans Raj said, "We have two boys—Mulk Raj and Hans Raj :—something whispers into my ear that this poverty will not last long and that the family will not always remain in obscurity." Those words have proved prophetic. Lala Mulk Raj is now the Managing Director of a Bank at Lahore, and Lala Hans Raj, in spite of his poverty, rather on account of his voluntary poverty, has made Bajwara known throughout the province. The aged mother of Lala Hans Raj still vividly remembers the talk with her dying husband.

Lala Mulk Raj got an employment in the Railway Department; Lala Hans Raj came to Lahore and joined the Local Mission School. In the school he attracted general notice on account of his modesty, simplicity of manner, earnestness and intelligence. He became a favourite of the Christian Headmaster. Here a little incident took place which however proved far-reaching in its effects. One day the Headmaster made some very uncomplimentary remarks about the civilisation of the ancient Aryans and asserted that like savages of other countries they were the worshippers of stocks and stones. The remarks excited Lala Hans Raj, particularly because while making these remarks the teacher addressed *him*.

by name. Lala Hans Raj said that the statement was not correct and was merely a calumny against his religion. Both the teacher and the pupil were ignorant of Sanskrit. The Headmaster quoted the authority of a Reader that was being used as a class book. The pupil put in Qasasi-Hind (Tales from Indian History) in support of his view, because according to this book Veda taught pure monotheism. Both lost their temper and the Headmaster turned Lala Hans Raj out of the class room.

This drove Lala Hans Raj to the Arya Samaj. He wanted to know what account of the matter the Arya Samajists could give. The Arya Samaj of Lahore was then an infant institution, having been established only two years before, in 1877 on the occasion of Swami Dayanand's first visit to this city. The man at the head of the Lahore Arya Samaj at that time was one whose sagacity and wisdom, patriotism and piety, combined with the rare virtues of moderation and business talents, have enshrined his name in the holiest recesses of the heart of all his fellow-believers, and have raised him to a position to which none can aspire, among those who have come after him. This great man, Lala Sain Das, is justly regarded as the patriarch of the Arya Samaj. To him Lala Hans Raj introduced himself as a seeker after truth and found in him a man who was capable of teaching something valuable. Lala Sain Das on his part found in Lala Hans Raj an earnest youth on whom time and energy could be

spent with advantage. Their relations became intimate. The magnetic influence of Lala Sain Das transformed the entire nature of Lala Hans Raj and gave an impetus to the power and patriotism that so far lay latent in him. To see Lala Sain Das and pass some time with him soon became a daily need with the young enthusiast and there is none to whom Lala Hans Raj feels more grateful even to-day than to the religious instructor of his youth. *He believes that life comes from life and that the living word of a living teacher is more potent than the dead word of a book.* He always exhorts young men to select some one whom they can regard with feelings of reverence and then to come in intimate, close, contact with him and receive inspiration. That, in his opinion, is the way to be good, and it may be great also.

Lala Hans Raj passed his Matriculation examination in 1880, doing in four years the work that engaged other students for about seven years. He then joined the Local Government College—then the only Arts College in the city. Here he was fortunate in making acquaintance of Lala Lajpat Rai, the late Lala Chetan Anand and the late Pandit Gurudatta. The acquaintance soon ripened into intimate friendship. They little thought during those days that they were destined to play an important part in the building of the nation and that they would all work in the same sphere of life. Lajpat Rai is now known everywhere for his patriotic fervour and philanthropic labours, not to know him argues oneself unknown. Pandit Gurudatta's

career was cut short in the prime of youth, but he lived long enough to create an almost universal impression that he was the best product of the University. Even now, a *Second Gurudatta*, signifies, in the province, a man of exceptionally precocious genius and high attainments. The late Lala Chetan Anand was the soul of public life in Multan and was, besides other things, doing excellent work in connection with a boy's and a girl's school. Lala Sain Das understood these young men perhaps better than they understood themselves and did all that lay in his power to mould their character. They became ardent admirers of the propaganda of the Arya Samaj.

The Arya Samaj as a Missionary body needed an organ to advocate its cause. One of the members started the *Regenerator of Arya Varta*, a weekly in English; and Pandit Gurudatta and Lala Hans Ráj, still students of the Government College, were put in editorial charge of it. Then it was that Lala Hans Raj showed for the first time what store of energy lay hidden in him. Those were the days of unrest—religious unrest;—Swami Dayanand, the great iconoclast, was vigorously carrying on his campaign against untruth and vice. The Arya Samaj had commenced to agitate on the question of Sanskrit and Hindi. This agitation roused opposition chiefly in Mohammadan quarters. The Hindi-Urdu controversy raged furiously at the time and the two editors and Lala Lajpat Rai took a respectable share in it. Articles and counter-articles

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LALA HANS RAJ

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Gurudatta, the speeches and counter-speeches were and had to firing this hot discussion, which took the columns of time of Lala Hans Raj and Pandit proof sheets andied European Oriental Literature The practice of L to refute the European views in was to go to the Preenerator, to correct and pass its College (at 11-30 a.m. attend its printing business. proofs there and write some Raj, as we have learnt, before he returned home at 2 after the close of the food. While we read this we (summer), correct the Lala Hans Raj was living rather in a pre, if necessary, that he then possessed, as he has since possessed, to take his a delicate constitution.

These young men went on working steadily and energetically, but they had not worked long when a calamity was at hand, a calamity the like of which they had never experienced in their public career. Early in October, 1883, a telegram was received by the Lahore Arya Samaj, that Swami Dayanand, the founder of the Arya Samaj lay ill at Jodhpore. A cloud of gloom was cast over the whole community of the Aryas, and Lala Jiwan Das and Pandit Gurudatta were sent to attend upon him at Ajmere, where he had removed from Jodhpore. The disease of the Swami, however, went on progressing in spite of all that human knowledge and power could do, till the time came when the great soul of that great man

was about to shuffle off its mortal coil. He lay on his death-bed, surrounded by his followers and admirers. Pandit Gurudatta, whose mind yet retained some traces of doubt and scepticism, was also among them. The last moments came. A dead silence prevailed. All were struck dumb by the awe of the majesty of death. Swamiji looked healthier and stronger, drew a long breath and with words that meant 'Father, Thy will be done,' breathed his last. Thus passed away the great soul, the like of which the Indians had never witnessed since long ages. The soul that inspired with the deepest patriotism and the miracle-working faith had passed his earthly career in fighting the battles and defeating the enemies of his faith.

The scene of his death must have impressed all present there, but the effect on Gurudatta's mind was the strongest and everlasting. He was a thorough theist now and a staunch believer in the revelation and when he returned from Ajmere, he was solemn and serious, stronger and more energetic.

The gloomy intelligence of Swamiji's death had already reached Lahore, and, on his return, Pandit Gurudatta found the whole town full of woeful accents and wrapped up in the heaviest gloom. The most elderly and strong-minded members wept like children and cried like the inmates of a ship, who have lost their pilot. Time and faith, however, came to their rescue at last. They wiped their tears and resigned themselves to the will of God, in the fulfilment of which their leader had lived and died. Meetings were

held to mourn this crushing loss and the speakers, though themselves unable to speak for tears and emotion, produced torrents of tears in the eyes of the thousands who attended the meetings. The Lahore Samaj decided to have a fitting memorial to commemorate the great name of their leader, and no memorial was thought fitter than a College which should in addition to carrying his name to posterity further his mission. Lala Lajpat Rai, who had already distinguished himself by his oratorical powers, was entrusted with the task of laying before the Lahore public the great services the Swami and the necessity of the commemoration of his name, in a manner which should be a fit index to the gratitude of the Hindu nation, whom he had raised from the dust to become one day, the crown of the nation of the world. The Lahore public expressed, in loud acclamations their hearty sympathy with the proposal of the Samaj, to start a College to be named the 'Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College.' The Mofussil Samajes, independently, arrived at the same decision. So without any delay a scheme was propounded by Lala Lal Chand, M.A., Pleader, Chief Court, and lists of subscriptions were at once opened in all important towns of the Punjab.

The number of the Arya Samajists was not large; the opposition with the orthodox section offered to the Revivalist—Reformers was great. The Arya Samajes worked vigorously for two years and could collect only Rs. 30,000 or so. This was not sufficient to warrant the starting even of a High School. The

members of the Arya Samaj, like sensible men, wanted to have a firm foundation for their institution. That they would start a College was certain; but when? This no one could say. Lala Hans Raj who had taken his degree standing high up in the list came to the rescue of his brother-promoters of the scheme. He received an assurance from his elder brother that in case he decided to work for the proposed institution his brother would provide him with a modest allowance of Rs. 50 a month. Lala Hans Raj intimated his intention of serving the institution without any remuneration. The Executive Committee of the Lahore Samaj thankfully accepted the offer and the announcement of the same in the Samaj anniversary that came off the same month (November, 1855) galvanised every nerve and fibre of the Samajists. The following is extracted from the first Annual Report of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College Society :—

“The Draft Scheme was first circulated only among certain prominent members of the Arya Samajes, and it is possible that it would have loitered on for some considerable time before taking a practical shape, but the matter was soon brought to a pass by a letter of Lala Hans Raj, B.A., offering his honorary services for the use of the institution. It is not possible on this occasion to do full justice to the spirit of self-sacrifice which actuated Lala Hans Raj at such young age and with such brilliant prospects before him to renounce them all and to offer his life for the cause of the education of his country. Nor

is it possible to express our deep debt of gratitude for the timely and noble assistance rendered by Lala Hans Raj to the cause of the movement. The Committee thanked Lala Hans Raj for his offer and intimated that early opportunity be taken to utilize his services.

That opportunity was taken when the School Department of the Institution was opened on the 1st of June, 1886. The Institution was started with the following joint purposes :—

(a) To encourage, improve and enforce the study of the Hindi Literature ;

(b) To encourage and enforce the study of classical Sanskrit and of the Vedas ;

(c) To encourage and enforce the study of the English Literature and Sciences, both theoretical and practical.

It was also resolved to provide means for giving technical education, as far as it was not inconsistent with the proper accomplishment of the above objects.

Lala Hans Raj was appointed the Headmaster of the School. Since that day his life has been indissolubly bound up with the life of the D. A. V. College. The institution was the first of its kind, under purely Indian management, in the Punjab. People were curious to know how Indians could control and conduct an educational institution. Even friends of the cause were not without misgivings. Then many students who were not good materials to work upon flocked to the new school. Lala Hans Raj worked with firm-

ness, made free use of the rod in the beginning and in a short time made the school a model institution from the view-point of discipline. The school in course of time developed into a college and Lala Hans Raj became the principal.

The higher classes of the school are now the most flourishing classes in the Province and the college is numerically the largest institution connected with the Punjab University.

All students receive religious instruction through the medium of Sanskrit or Hindi books and, in the province, the institution has done more to popularise Sanskrit and Hindi than all other agencies put together.

There is provision for technical education also. There are two Engineering Classes in a flourishing condition, a tailor class and an Ayurvedic class. Besides there is a theological department for the exclusive study of classical Sanskrit. Altogether more than 1,800 students are now receiving instruction in the various branches of the institution. The Annual Budget now goes up to Rs. 55,000. The capital now amounts to seven lakhs.

On the occasion of the last anniversary of the Lahore Arya Samaj (November, 1908)¹ the collections for the College amounted to about Rs. 46,000 cash. About Rs. 13,000 out of this sum were collected by Lala Hans Raj and his students from outstations for the College building site Fund. It was also announced that a

1. This was written in 1919.

Pleader of Jagadhari has bequeathed Rs. 58,000 to the institution. Among the colleagues of Lala Hans Raj on the staff of the institution, there are five gentlemen working on a subsistence allowance and all of them are old students of the College. Lala Levi Dyal, Professor of Mathematics, has been on the staff since 1st June 1886, when the school was opened.

The prosperity of the College is to a large extent due to the fact that all concerned have acted their part well. Lala Mulk Raj still continues to give his brother the promised allowance. Lala Hans Raj has throughout managed to live on this modest allowance. In the Managing Committee, except for a short period, harmony has prevailed. Lala Hans Raj has always loyally carried out the policy of the Managers; he has behaved just as a paid servant would do. The Managers on the other hand have always appreciated his work and given willing co-operation. The short period just referred to was the time in the early nineties when an unfortunate split rent the Arya Samaj into two parts. The College bark was on stormy waters and for sometime no haven could be descried. Lala Hans Raj and his co-workers trustfully went on working and brought the slender bark to a place of safety. During this period Lala Hans Raj was one of the most maligned persons.

Even now he has some bitter critics, but to no one he bears ill-will. "Man am I, and to all things human am I kin." He does not worry himself about what others say against him. When some one tells him that a certain paper writes bitterly

against him, he smiles a little and says, 'I don't want to give my revilers the satisfaction that I read what they write against me.' He minds his own business and well might he say in the words of Frederic the Great "My people and myself have come to an understanding : they may say what they like, I will do what I like."

As an effective religious preacher, Lala Hans Raj occupies a high place. So far as one can see, there are two conceptions that occupy the central, focal place in his religious consciousness. These are the value of sacrifice in moral progress and the presence of Divine energy, half-revealed and half-concealed, in all natural phenomena. Here is subjoined the translation of two beautiful passages from the *Upanishads*, because Lala Hans Raj often makes them the basis of his sermons and they throw light on his central religious conceptions. The first occurs in the *Brihadaranyaka* and *Chandogya* Upanishads and is as follows :—

"The Gods and the demons once rivalled for supremacy. The gods being few in number and the demons many, the former stood in need of assistance. They decided to win by the help of the *udagil* (reciting a part of the *Sama Veda*), and said to speech, 'Do thou for our sake sing the *udagil*.' Speech assented and saying, 'Let it be so,' sang the *udagil*. She sang to the gods, but the pleasure of speaking will be reserved for herself. The *devas* were defeated in the conflict. They then adored *nasika* (sense of smell) and asked her to perform the cere-

mony for them. *Nasika* consented, and saying ' Let it be so,' sang for them, but reserved the pleasure of smell for herself. The *devas* were worsted in the struggle. Vision then, in compliance with the request of the *devas*, sang the *udagit* for them, but, like speech and smell, reserved the pleasure for herself. The *asuras* contaminated her, as they had contaminated the other two and again, for the third time, the demons came out victorious. The same sad story was repeated when the ear and the mind worked—but not without selfishness.—on behalf of the *devas*. The gods, in their perplexity, then turned to *Asanya* (*Prana, breath*) and besought him to perform the ceremony, *Prana sang the udagit reserving nothing for himself*. The demons tried to contaminate him with sin, but in the effort altogether destroyed themselves, just as a clod of earth dashed against a rock is reduced to dust."

The moral is plain. In the deadly strife that the higher and the lower nature of man are waging each against the other, the higher nature cannot triumph so long as there is any trace of selfishness. Let the altruistic feeling gain in strength and depth, let a man be absolutely selfless, even as the *Prana*, and then will character soften and righteousness swallow unrighteousness.

The other passage occurs in the *Kena* or *Salva-kara* Upanishad. The Lord achieved a victory for the gods (the powers of nature); this added to their glory, and they thought the victory was achieved by themselves and their glory was underived. The

Lord knew it and manifested himself to the Gods as an Apparition. They did not recognise what Apparition it was. They said to Agni, "Go thou and know what this Apparition is." Agni went to the Apparition, who asked him, "Who art thou? What canst thou do?" Agni answered "Verily, I am Agni Jatvedas; I can consume all this universe." The Apparition put a blade before Agni, and said, 'consume this blade.' Agni did all in his power but the blade could not be consumed. The vain God spoke not a word, but returned to his comrades, and said "I know not what this Apparition is." Then they turned to Vayu and asked him to find out what the Apparition was. Vayu went to the Yaksh and being asked about his name and power, said, "Verily I am Vayu, I can blow off all that exists." "Blow off this blade," said the Apparition. Vayu tried with all his might, but the blade remained there unmoved. Crestfallen he returned to his comrades and told them all that had happened. Then the mighty Indra was deputed to know the Yaksha. Indra hastened to go where the Apparition was but the Apparition disappeared. Indra met Uma who told him that the Apparition was the Lord Himself. Their glory and power were derived from Him; these were not their own as they in their conceit, had imagined. Then they knew the truth about their power." "The sun does not shine there, nor the moon and the stars, nor these lightnings, and much less this fire. When He shines, everything shines after Him; by His light all this is lightened."

What strikes one most in the character of Lala Hans Raj is his grasp of life's meaning as a whole, his 'rising above the impulse of the moment and viewing it in the light of his national self-hood,' " his severe criticism of his own nature and the consequent mastery of his own destiny." He knows how to bear and to forbear. For more than twenty-two years he has kept his gaze fixed on a high ideal and manfully marched towards it. No opposition has disheartened him; no temptation has led him astray. He has subdued his life to one idea and is eminently a man of character. His life has not been, as the lives of so many of us are made up of independent, detached segments. It has been a unity, an organic growth 'Self-realization,' says Professor James Seth, 'means that the several changing desires, instead of being allowed to pursue their several ways, and to seek each its own good or satisfaction, are so correlated and organised that each becomes instrumental to the fuller and truer life of the rational or human self.'

Lala Hans Raj supplies an excellent illustration of such self-realization.

The daily life of Lala Hans Raj has for some years been singularly monotonous. As was the case with Immanuel Kant, the same routine is repeated from day to day. If we know one day's life, we have just to repeat it seven times and we may get a week's life and so on with weeks and months. Lala Hans Raj gets up rather early in the morning, takes ablutions before sunrise and then offers daily prayers. Then he

goes out for walk for an hour or so, or takes dumb bell exercise. This done he reads some religious book for a short time and then applies himself to College work. When the College opens, he goes to his room and remains there till the end of the College time. He works there more than any other member of the College staff. He leaves the College in the afternoon and taking a little rest, and receiving some visitors on College or Samaj business, goes out to attend some meeting. Some day he has to attend two or three even more meetings. He is a Fellow of the University, a syndic, a member of one or two Boards of Studies, a member of the Text-Book Committee, President of the Young Men's Arya Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the D. A. V. College Union; a member of the D. A. V. College Managing Committee and its sub-committees for managing the College, the School, the College Boarding House, the School Boarding House, the Brahmachar Ashram; a member of the Samaj Girls' School Committee and of the Sevak Mandali (Service League.) In the evening he performs Sandhea in the College Boarding House along with the resident students. When he has taken his evening meals, he is generally visited by fellow-workers in the cause of the Arya Samaj or the D.A.V. College and sometime is spent in exchanging views about religious and social matters. Then comes time for sleep. Whenever the College is closed for more than one day, he goes out to join the anniversary of some Samaj. The major part of the summer vacation, he spends in delivering lectures and collec-

ting funds for the College. His work is entirely confined to the Arya Samaj and its institutions, scarcely once or twice a year he speaks out of the Samaj. He has never written, for any Magazine or newspaper that does not belong to the Samaj. Even to the Samajic papers he contributes very little; sometimes months pass without a single line appearing over his signature.

Such is the life of Lala Hans Raj, a man whom so many educated Punjabees respect and revere and love and look up to as a model to be imitated in their own lives.

We have spoken of his grasp of life's meaning as a whole. What is that meaning? A few words more about this meaning will bring this sketch to a close. "Why should one take pleasure in being alive, merely to act as a sort of filter for so much food and drink? Merely to pamper and doctor for all one's life, a sickly and wasting body, which is only kept from death by repeated nourishment? Or to abide in fear of death, the one event we are born for?" Seneca asks these questions and answers, "No! Take away the priceless blessing of thought, and life is not worth the feet and fever it entails."

Lala Hans Raj improves upon the answer of the Roman Stoic and adds to the priceless blessing of thought, the priceless blessings of noble sentiments and useful activity. The grand lesson that we learn from his life is this :—

We live in deeds, not years ; in thoughts, not
breaths,

In feeling, not in figures on a dial.

We should count time by heart throbs ; he most
lives.

Who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best.

THE INTERPRETATION OF VEDAS BY SWAMI DAYANAND SARASWATI

(A Lecture by Lala Hans Raj)

Gentlemen,

It is admitted on all hands that ancient Aryavarta had a great reputation for original learning among the cultured nations of antiquity. So highly celebrated was the wisdom of the Brahmins of the country that the ancient sages of Greece considered it an honor to travel to India and learn lessons of wisdom at the feet of its hoary Rishis. In the course of long ages, with the corruption of their social and religious institutions, our forefathers lost their reputation for wisdom and valour, and remained famous only as the richest nation of the earth. The pomp and pride of our princes, the luxury of our nobles and the rich wares of our traders appealed to the covetousness of other nations, and inspired them with a desire to conquer India or carry on trade with its people. India was the land of golden pagodas whose glistening temples invited the hungry and dazzled warriors of other climes for easy conquest and rich plunder. The invasions of Mahamud, Taimur and Nadir, the conquests of Shabuddin and Baber and the

struggles of different European nations to find a sea passage to India and make it their own, show how it had become the cynosure of all neighbouring eyes. At last after a severe struggle with rival conquerors, the English became the masters of the land, and, putting down anarchy and misrule with a strong hand, gave peace and security to its teeming millions.

Before and immediately after the conquest of the country, the English and other European nations had very crude ideas about the people. They were thought half as little above the condition of savages, with no glorious traditions of the past or rich heritage for the present. They were the dark-skinned idolators who had no literary language or literature of their own. Gentlemen, I was much amused to read in a work on Geography that the inhabitants of India were called *Gentoos*, that they were descended from *Shem*, a son of *Noah*, and that their language, which was named 'Sanskrit,' was discovered by a European gentleman in such and such a year. No better description of Indians could be expected from men who believed the traditions and the chronology of the Bible as divine, and traced the origin of all religion and history to the Jewish Scriptures.

But such a state of dark ignorance could not last for ever. The Europeans have a spirit of enquiry in them, and that adventurous turn of mind, which bade them undertake long sea voyages to discover a sea route to India and undergo untold hardships in fighting for supremacy here, made them explore the treasures of learning which

our forefathers have bequeathed to us. The scholar and the missionary followed close upon the soldier. *Sir William Jones* and his colleagues were the pioneers of a movement which brought to light the immensity and variety of our literature and showed to the European world that we had produced immortal works in religion, philosophy, poetry and drama, and were entitled to a position among the civilised nations of the world. The missionaries also studied our literature, not, however, with a view to appreciate but to confute and refute it. They, too, could not conceal the truth that the precepts of our Shastras were vastly superior to the present religious practices of our countrymen.

This is not all. The flood of light let loose upon the West by the study of Sanskrit opened new fields of enquiry to the view of European scholars and savants. The perfect and unique system of Sanskrit Grammar embodied in the lectures of Panini and the commentaries of his successors led to the study of comparative Grammar and the discovery of the Science of Philology which has cast so much light upon the history of the Aryans. The affinity of the languages spoken by the Indo-European nations was recognised, and the common origin of Celtic, Classical, Teutonic, Persian and Hindu races established to the utter discomfiture of those who believed the Jewish languages to be the mother-tongue of all the languages of the world. Christian Europe bowed down to acknowledge the truth that Veda, and not the Bible, was the oldest book with the human

race. The development of Mesmerism and Hypnotism in the West indicates the influence which the teachings of Patanjali are exercising over the mind of Europe and America. Men recognised that the theories of Kapila did not clash with the discoveries of Modern Science, and that the philosophy of Vyas and the words of the authors of the Upanishads could satisfy and solace the minds of philosophers like *Schopenhauer*. The starting of the Theosophical Society, the conversion of Mrs. Besant, and the reception accorded to Swami Vivekananda in the Parliament of Religions, are clear indications of the fact that even to the Westerns, Western thought has ceased to be all-in-all.

While the West has caught a new impulse by the study of Sanskrit, India has also witnessed a change, the like of which has never been known before. I do not refer to the physical conquest of India by England for however grand the fact in itself may have been, the Afghans and Turks had already led the way by the establishment of their dominion here. I allude to the intellectual and moral conquest of the people by Englishmen. During the palmiest days of Muhammadan rule, the Hindus had never acknowledged themselves beaten by their masters in intellectual and moral progress. A Muhammadan Baber might defeat a Hindu Sanga and dispossess him of a portion of his territory but even he had to bend before a Hindu Nanak. Akbar, Faizi, Jehangir and Dara Shikoh had to bear testimony to the learning and saintliness of Hindu devotees. But with the advent

of the English the case has become different. Hardly a day passes when we are not reminded of our inferiority. The railway, the telegraph and the factory speak in unmistakable terms both to the educated and the uneducated that Englishmen are far superior to them in the knowledge of natural laws and their application to the conveniences of human life. The wonderfully complex machine of administration which regulates our affairs displays to us high powers of organization in the nation that bears rule over us. The dramas of Shakespeare, the poems of Milton and the writings of Bacon attest to the intellectual eminence of the ruling people. The perseverance, truthfulness, courage, patriotism and self-sacrifice of Englishmen excite feelings of respect and admiration in our minds. What wonder is then that in their company, we feel ourselves conquered and humiliated.

Just at this moment of weakness, the missionary comes to us and whispers that the superiority of the European over the Indian is the gift of the Son of God whom he has acknowledged as his King and Saviour and that your countrymen can really become great if they come under his banner. The idea thus insinuated is daily fed and strengthened by the education that he imparts to us through a large number of Mission Schools and Colleges that cover the country with their net work. The missionary criticises the evils that have of late corrupted our society, and proudly points out to his own community as entirely free from those

curse. He compares our sacred books with Christian Scriptures, and proves to the satisfaction of many a misguided people that the latter are infinitely superior to the former. He is also encouraged in his proselytising work by the apathy of the Hindus towards religious instruction. They send their children to schools for secular education without making any provision for religious training at home or school, with the result that our boys grow up utterly ignorant of the religious principles of their Shastras. No Christian father will ever entrust his sons to the care of him whom he believes inimical to his faith, but we do it daily, only to bewail at the result of our folly when some mishap befalls us. The godless education of Government Schools and Colleges has increased our indifference to religion, and we have been so completely won over to the world that we are ready to sacrifice our highest religious interests for the slightest worldly advantage to ourselves.

The labours of the Sanskrit scholars of Europe have also facilitated, though unconsciously, the path of the missionary. Accustomed to receive secular truths from the West without the slightest hesitation, our young men, unacquainted with the sublime truths of their Scriptures, are led to put implicit faith in the opinions of Western scholars on the subject of Hindu religion. Gentlemen, here I do not mean to blame such distinguished savants as Professors Max Muller and Monier Williams, or cast a slur on the world-wide reputation which they have deservedly

won after years of toil in the sacred field of Sanskrit literature. European savants, excuse me, gentlemen, for this language, have been misled by the commentaries of native Sanskrit scholars whom they have closely followed, and it is no fault of theirs if they failed in fields where men more favourably situated than themselves had shared the same fate.

I fear, I must be a little more explicit here. The religious literature of the Hindus covers a long period and includes among works of the highest merit others that are diametrically opposed to each other though all of them allow a sort of general authority to the Vedas. These works were composed at different times, and represent different stages in the religious life of the Hindus. Notwithstanding the fact that all claim to be based on the Vedas, they entertain different views on many an essential point. Taking even European savants as our guide in this respect, we may safely assert that the mythology of the Puranas finds no support either from the law-book or the Vedas. But Puranic mythology being the latest development of Hindu thought, the authors and commentators of that period have strained every nerve to find in the Vedas sanction for the ideas, they preached and acted upon. They interpreted the Vedas after their own manner and scholars like Sayana and Mahidhar, who have been accepted as authorities by Western scholars, composed voluminous explanatory works which, while satisfying the demands of popular religion, have been preserved to us as monuments of their labour and learning.

Let us, gentlemen, pause here a moment, and examine our position. The Hindu religion, which could well withstand the steel of Mahomedan bigotry for hundreds of years, has been brought face to face with European science, and criticism, wielded in the hands of men who are either indifferent to our interests or interested in converting us to their faith. Our situation demands that we may brace our nerves to defend our religion, if we believe it to be true, against the attacks of its assailants; but alas we ourselves have got misgivings in our hearts. The vast and insensate majority of our conservative countrymen is so much steeped in idolatry and superstition that it is well nigh unconscious of its own wretchedness. It is moreover divided into rival sects giving nominal allegiance to the Vedas but passionately clinging to the various books composed by their founders for the benefit of their followers. Whenever any section of the community has kept itself aloof from contending factions, it has, with an inconsistency characteristic of our race, outwardly recognised the sovereignty of all, but, inwardly ignoring the claims of religion altogether, yielded its heart to none. A few unmeaning ceremonies excepted, there is no common tie that unites the Hindu masses, no common link that fastens them to each other, no one principle which all of them may be moved to defend. As for the people who call themselves educated, they are beset with greater difficulties and less provided for against danger. Education has deprived them of the ignorant pride which in the cause of common people

is the source of dogged pertinacity and tenacious adherence to their own views. Light has reached them only to reveal the hideous situation they are in. The Godless education of our Schools and Colleges has sapped the foundations of faith in God and His revealed Will; our boys are taught to despise their own religious books and praise those of the foreigner; above all, the conviction has been brought home to us by the writings of European savants that although we possess some philosophical works of inestimable value, our religious books contain a great deal of rubbish and nonsense along with a few gems of truth that lie embedded in it. We are told that Vedas, which are the basis of our religion and science, embody the child-like utterings of the primeval man, that they teach the worship of elements, and enjoin the practice of foolish rites that could please children but are disgusting to civilised men. Some of these opinions derive countenance even from the opinions of our priests, the natural guides of our people who, devoting themselves exclusively to the study of works composed in the mythological period, remain ignorant of the knowledge of Divine Revelation and, in their zeal to defend the present corruptions of society, lend a helping hand to the enemies of their faith. Thus the ancient religion of the Hindus, deserted by those who ought to have proved its best defenders, seems doomed to destruction by the blows dealt to it by its young adversaries. It seeks safety in concealment; it is afraid to come out and measure swords with its opponents in the field of

debate and discussion; it confesses itself humbled and beaten by its enemies. It seems impossible to defend, without a blush on the face, the faith of the Rishis who at one time gave law and learning to the whole civilized world.

Gentlemen, it would be an act of ingratitude on my part to pass over the name of Raja Ram Mohan Roy who was the first to take the field on behalf of Hinduism. He at once perceived, with the unerring instinct of a practical reformer, that the Vedas, the fountain-head of the Hindu faith, were the source of pure religion and lent no sanction to the errors and evils that were the corruptions of later age. He felt that the Vedas could satisfy the highest aspirations of the human soul better than the Bible or the Koran and he therefore laid the foundation of a church which taught the unity of God and the sanctity of the Vedas as its essential points. The Raja had intuitively lighted upon the truth, but he had not at his command that vast amount of Sanskrit learning which could strike terror into the hearts of the Hindu Pandits though he often entered into lists against the Christians and defeated his opponents. But the light that had come to him disappeared with his death when his successor doubting the strength of the rock upon which Ram Mohan Roy built his church, shifted its foundations and thus divided it for ever from the parent church of ancient sages.

Gentlemen, you will naturally enquire why Thakur Debendro Nath rejected the authority of the Vedas and assigned to them a position no higher than that of the

Bible or the Koran. I beg leave to reply that no man in his position could do otherwise, and that this must always be the case with those who will be guided by the mythological school of the interpretation of the Vedas. The Thakur tried to study the Vedas, he doubted them, he sent Pandits to Benares to clear his doubts. They too could not interpret the Vedas rightly because even they had forgotten to use the right key ; and, as an honest man, the teacher of the Brahmo Samaj threw away the book which yielded him nothing but silly stories. You cannot blame him, you must blame the school which misled him.

Thus the Hindu faith, assailed on all sides by its vigorous opponents, had put forward one defender, but he also deserted it in time of need. The faith of the Rishis was in danger of being swept out of the land were it had flourished from immemorial times. Even the Vedas, the expression of the Divine Will entrusted to the care of the Brahmins, were threatened with oblivion. Men had despaired of finding unity in the chaos of conflicting opinions which the Hindus erroneously believe to be their religion, and had given up the task as hopeless. Everything portended utter confusion and dire destruction to our faith when Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the great Seer of the age, appeared among us.

I have called Swami Dayanand, the great Seer, because like Rishis of yore he saw the truth face to face. Long ages of ignorance and superstition had concealed the Vedic truth under the cover of oblivion. His profound learning and penetrating intellect pierced

through the obscure veil, and saw the gem of truth blazing in the majesty of its lustre and glory. He found the key which unlocked the door to lead him to the full light of the day. He discovered the true formula, the *open sesame* which gave him possession of the golden treasure, while others, who remembered "*open barley*," failed to gain even a sight of it.

There are some who call Swami Dayanand an impostor, a liar, a false interpreter of the Vedas. I do not quarrel with them, because in the search after truth these slanderers have never wandered in the mazes of Hindu Shastras, never felt the difficulties that lie in the way of Vedic students, and never realized the importance of the discovery made by Swami Dayanand. The great Swami stands on a pedestal so high that the eyes of those who look at him from below are dazed, and they find nothing substantial in his place. Gentlemen, I admit that the truth discovered by him is the only bond which can unite us as a nation and that the movement inaugurated by him will, like the famous cow of the Hindu mythology, yield us all that is desirable in social and religious matters; but these collateral benefits should not weigh in our minds as proofs of the ulterior motives of the Swami. They are rather an index of the importance of his discovery and work. The brightness of the truth discovered by him would have been the same without these additional lights. Nor should we be swayed in our judgment against him by what has been miscalled as the unanimous voice of the Pandits. Had truth been judged by numbers, no reform

would have ever succeeded. Weigh him not by the votes of those who are the devoted followers of the Mythological School, but by the evidence which he can bring forward to establish the existence of the school which he has followed. I contend that the system of interpretation inaugurated by Swami Dayanand is older and therefore more reliable than that followed by Sayana and Mahidhar. Herein lies that fundamental difference of the Arya Samaj with the orthodox people ; the Samaj and its founder stand or fall by this principle.

Gentlemen, we are now in a position to discuss the question of the true system of vedic interpretation and I will apply myself directly to it, hoping that I may not have to make an undue demand upon your time.

The students of Sanskrit literature are aware that Yaska, the author of Nirukta, is believed to be the highest authority on the interpretation of the Vedas. The work is quoted both by the Sayana and Mahidhar with the profoundest respect and humility and is universally acknowledged by the Pandits as one of the six helps to the study of the Vedas. Swami Dayananda proposed to base his interpretation of the Vedas on Nirukta. Yaska, the author of the work itself, claims a very high authority for his composition. In the fifth Khanda of the sixth Pada of the first Adhya, he writes, " Rishis were those who had realized truth face to face. They communicated by instruction, *mantras* to others—their inferiors who had not realized truth face to face. These, put to much inconvenience by teaching, with a view to easy understanding, systematised this book, the

Vedas and the helps to the Vedas." In the first Khanda of the same Pada, Yaska thus enforces the study of his work: "Without this it is not possible to know the meanings of the mantras. To him, who does not understand the meaning, the complete object of accentuation and etymology is unintelligible. Thus this repository of learning, *viz.*, Nirukta completes grammar and has its own ends." Here we have a book that proposes itself as a key to the interpretation of the Vedas, and possesses an authority which is inferior only to that of the Vedas themselves. As all parties submit to its authority, I will refer to its contents as often as necessary.

Gentlemen, let me present you, first of all, with two illustrations of Veda Mantras interpreted to us both by the Mythological and Etymological Schools. Sayana and Mahidhar are the ablest advocates of the former, and Yaska, the author of the Nirukta, of the latter. Yaska, has often styled these schools as *Aitihasik* and *Nairuktik*. The mantras commented upon are Rig, Ashatak 8 Adhya 52, Sukta 12, Mantras 5—6 and Rig 8 4-2-5.

The Mythologists say: Devapi and Shantanu sons of Rishtishen and born of the family of Kuru were two brothers. Shantanu the younger got himself installed as King; Devapi took to penance. Then in the kingdom of Shantanu clouds did not rain for twelve years. Brahmans said to him. "You have committed a sin, you have been installed in supersession of your elder brother; hence the clouds do not rain." At this Shanthanu often visited his brother with the offer to rule. Devapi told him, "I will be your priest and sacrifice for you." The

Sukta is of him desirous of rain and the two Riks refer to the story. Translated by the Mythologists, they run as follows : " Sage Devapi, the son of Rishtishen, officiated as a priest. He knew the beneficent will of the Gods. He brought heavenly rain water from the higher ocean to the lower. When Devapi, the priest of Shantanu appointed by him as Hotree, sacrificed, engaged in contemplation after being moved with pity, Brihaspati granting the request of him who was desirous of rain and heard by the Gods, gave him the Riks." The story upon which the interpretation is based is not given in the Vedas ; it is a mere tradition.

Yaska has not given the Nairuktik meanings of the mantras very clearly, but Durga Charan, his commentator has always taken Sayana his authority, explains them also according to Etymological method. *Rishti* is lightning, *Rishtisena* or that which has lightning as its army, is wind. *Arshtitsyen* its son is fire, as the Upanishads declare, *Vayu* was born of *Akash* and *Agni* of *Vayu*. The mantras describe the action of heat as it brings down rain from the clouds. Their Nairuktik meanings are as follows. Heat that affects elements and produces motion serves as *Hotree*, conscious as if of the beneficent laws of the Universe. It brings down pure rain water from the higher to the lower ocean. When, the affecter of elements and the benefactor of man being moved by pity calls for rain, the clouds bestowing their gifts on the chief of the elements desirous of rain, answer it with thunder." Gentlemen, see how beautifully and poetically have the beneficent laws of the Universe been

described to you; they suggest quite a fund of good and noble thought.

The second illustration is even more remarkable. The hymn referred to, has Pururava as its Rishi, who according to Sayana composed the poem, while according to Swami Dayanand, he merely discovered its meaning. By this mantra, says Sayana, Pururava praises Urvasi, the heavenly nymph who is a celebrated beauty of Indra's Court. The mythological introduction to its explanation is as follows: Mitra and Varuna who had just got their initiation saw Urvasi and desired her. Their vow was broken and they cursed her, saying, Thou shalt be enjoyed by man. After this, King Ila, attended by the sons of Manu, went out a hunting, where he descried Devi in amorous sport with Siva. She had engaged in it on the condition that any male seeing her in that state would turn into a female. Ila, ashamed at the metamorphosis, supplicated to Siva who referred him to Parvati. She granted his request to the extent that he was to remain alternatively male and female for six months. Once, on a certain occasion, Buddha saw him while in the female state, fell into love with her, and visited her who excelled in beauty the damsels of heaven. She gave birth to Soma who became the father of Pururava, the Rishi of the Mantra. He desired Urvasi who lived in Pratishtanpur. She agreed to be his wife on the condition that she would go back to Heaven if she ever saw him naked out of his bed. She kept two rams always tied in her bed-

room. After the lapse of four years, the Gods who felt her absence in heaven ran away with the rams. Hearing the bleating of rams carried away by force, the king jumped out naked from his bed and brought them back. The lightning took the opportunity to show his nakedness to Urvasi who at once disappeared at the sight. Wandering like a maniac, the king went to Manas lake where he saw her sporting with nymphs. Pururava desired to enjoy her again, but she spurned him away weeping. Pururava addresses her in the Sukta. The mantra translated by mythologists runs as follows : "Coming down from heaven, Urvasi shines like lightning, she fulfils all my desires that are within her reach. She will give birth to an active well-bred child, she will bring up Ayu." I think the above is a very good specimen of the inventive genius of the Hindus.

The author of the Nirukta has no beautiful story to tell. He is here less poetical but more faithful to Truth. He translates *Urvasi* as lightning and interprets the Mantra thus : "The lightning gleams, it shines while falling. It sends me water that I desire it generates beautiful rippling water that is useful to man, and thus increases his life." What a change from silly stories to scientific instruction.

Gentlemen, I can multiply instances, but I think the above examples would suffice to convince you that long before Sayana was born and Mahidhar wrote, to perpetuate the mythological system of Vedic interpretation and render its hold stronger on the nation there

flourished in the country the Nairuktic System, which interpreted the Vedas in a different manner. If Swami Dayanand was an impostor because he differed from the prevalent school, Yaska was doubly so, as the great Swami trod the very path which had been trodden before by so distinguished a guide as the author of one of the Vedangas. The truth is that the true systems of Vedic interpretation had been supplanted by the false one; Swami Dayanand came, discovered the truth and restored it to its pristine position.

The second point to which I beg to draw your attention is the fact that even following the old system of interpretation, ancient Rishis have held different views as to the meaning of different mantras. They allowed difference of opinion and credited those who differed from them with honesty of purpose. The argument is, I hope, conclusive against those who are ungenerous enough to doubt the sincerity of the Swami and throw away his Bhashya merely because his translation does not agree with the renderings of Hindu scholars and European savants. The Swami claims no more licence than is given to every commentator. The Riks that I will explain to prove the point are Rig 2, 3, 21, 4, 3, 8, 10, 3, Yaj 34, 35, Rig 2, 3, 20, 2.

The first Rik has got four meanings, two of them are from Yaska and the rest from Shakpuni and his son. According to Yaska, it means

“Rishis have their basis in that exalted, all pervading and eternal Being who is the receptacle of all

luminaries. What will he who does not know Him do with the Vedas? Verily they who know Him are well placed.

The body which is the support of all senses is supported by the intelligent, pervading and eternal soul. What will he who does not know the soul within do with the body? Verily they who know the human soul are well conditioned."

Shakpuni translates it thus :—

"Rig is contained in the all-pervading name *Om* which contains in it all the mantras. What will he who does not know *Om* do with the Rig? Verily they who know *Om* are well conditioned."

Shakpuni's son gives the following sense :

"The sun, which is the source of all light, is supported by the exalted, all-pervading and eternal God. What will he who does not know Him do with the sun? Verily they who know Him are well conditioned."

The variations in the senses are due to the various meanings of the words *rik*, *vyoman* and *deva*. *Rik* means *hymns* as well as *sun*; *vyoman* has been interpreted as *pervading* or signifying the word *Om*. *Deva* has got two senses here, *rays of the sun* and *senses of the body*.

The second *Rik*, if translated ordinarily, would give the following strange sense :

"The bull that has got four horns, three feet, two heads and seven hands and is tied thrice roars. The great God enters among men."

Yaska says, the mantra gives the description of a

sacrifice. *Brishbha* which in modern Sanskrit means bull, is etymologically taken to mean the sacrifice or the yajnya. The mantra is thus explained: The sacrifice has got four horns, *viz.*, the Vedas for its protection. Its three feet are the three *Savans* or times, *viz.*, morning, noon and evening which carry it on to fruition. *Pragniya* and *Udaniya* are its two heads. Its seven hands are the seven metres of the Vedas. It is tied thrice, *viz.*, regulated by mantras, Brahmanas and Kalpa. It roars because priests chant mantras at it. It has been prescribed for men only.

Patanjali, in his great commentary the Mahabhashya, derives all grammatical knowledge from this mantra, and explains it thus :

Vrishbha is the word that is spoken. It has got four horns in the shape of names, verbs, verbal particles, and conjunctive particles, past, present and future are the three feet. Sounds perishable and imperishable, are the two heads. Seven cases are its seven hands. It is imprisoned in breast, throat and head. It has been given to man.

Another commentator gives the following explanation :—

Vrishbha means the sun. Four cardinal points are its horns. Three Vedas are its foot stools, because the periods prescribed for their study mark the progress of the sun. Day and night are its two heads. Its seven hands are the rays of the sun or seven seasons. It is tied thrice by earth, air and the bright region. It roars because it brings down rain among men.

The third verse is from the Yajur Veda.

Students of nature interpret it thus :

"Seven rays have been placed in the sun; these seven unceasingly protect all with due care. The travelling seven go back to the region of the setting sun. Then the two ever wakeful powers that protect the world keep watch over it."

Students of divinity understand it in this way : "Seven organs (*viz.*, five senses, mind and intellect) have been given to the body; these seven unceasingly protect all with due care; these seven organs of knowledge are absorbed in the soul during the time of sleep; then the two ever wakeful protectors of the body keep watch over it." According to Nirukta, the two wakeful protectors are the Prajnyatma and the Taijasatma; according to Mahidhar, they are the inspiration and respiration of man.

The fourth Rik, as interpreted by Yaska, means, "That which scatters water, *viz.*, cloud, does not know its own secret; he who looks at it while concealed in the rays of the sun, understands it well. The cloud, generated in various ways and surrounded by the sky, pours its waters over the earth." While giving his own meaning, Yaska does not conceal the fact that the Sanyasis attach quite a different sense to the mantra. "He who procreates does not know its mystery. He alone realizes it who conceives the soul imprisoned in the womb. He born over and over in the embryo of his mother, undergoes much sufferings." Through this mantra, the Sanyasis establish the superiority of

celibacy over married life. Gentlemen, if you will grant me a little indulgence, I may present you with an interpretation of my own as I think that the mantra enjoins another principle which is equally precious. I mean, it embodies an injunction against the procreation of a large number of children. "He who procreates does not know its mystery, he who knows it refrains from it. He who possesses many children by being born in the womb of his wife undergoes much suffering."

The various interpretations of the four mantras quoted by me carry us one step further. Our sages not only followed the Nairuktic mode of interpretation but enjoyed a wide latitude even under that system. In unfolding the meanings of the Vedic mantras, they gave the freest scope to their intellect with no limitations upon it save those of grammar and natural science. We see the fruits of this system in the steady development of various branches of physical science among them along with the spiritual culture of the highest order. It was one of the greatest misfortunes which befell our country that the Mythological System gained the upper hand and supplanted the Etymological System.

The third point, which is the most important of all, is that of the worship of one true God. No religious book, which does not teach the unity of God and the efficacy of his exclusive worship is worth the value of a straw. None is so bold as to hold that the worship of one true God is not inculcated in the Vedas; what is

maintained by the orthodox Pandits and European savants is that lower deities or *devatas* have also been invoked and adored as divine personages in the hymns. For hundreds of years the ancient Aryas worshipped the elements and the forces of nature, and it was by gradual development in religious ideas that the notion of one supreme Ruler of the Universe dawned upon their minds. I would here give the view of Professor Max Muller on the subject in words culled from his writings. Says the learned Professor; "I could not even answer the question if you were to ask it whether the religion of the Vedas was *polytheistic* or *monotheistic*. Monotheistic in the usual sense of that word, it is decidedly not, though there are hymns that assert the unity of the Divine as fearlessly as any passage of the Old Testament or the New Testament or the Qoran. But by the side of such passages which are few in number, there are thousands in which ever so many divine beings are praised and prayed to. If, therefore, there must be a name for the religion of the Rig Veda, Polytheism would seem at first sight the most appropriate. Polytheism has, however, assumed with us a meaning which renders it totally inapplicable to the Vedic religion. Our ideas of Polytheism being chiefly derived from Greece and Rome, we understand by it a certain more or less organised system of Gods different in power and rank and all subordinate to a supreme God or Zeus or Jupiter. In the Veda, however, the Gods worshipped as supreme by each sect stand still side by side. No

one is first always, no one is last always. Even Gods of a decidedly inferior and limited character assume occasionally in the eyes of a devoted poet supreme place above all other Gods." The professor subsequently proposes and adopts *henotheism* or the worship of single Gods as the name of the Vedic religion to distinguish it from *polytheism*.

Quite opposed to the views of the Professor on this point are the opinions of Swami Dayanand. He asserts that the religion of the Vedas is monotheism pure and simple,—the exclusive worship of one true God and Him only. There are thirty-three gods mentioned in the Vedas, but they are merely the forces of nature that serve us every day; he whom we have to serve and worship is the supreme soul of the universe. Fire, wind, sun, &c., are mentioned as natural agents which we should utilise for our purposes but not adore as divine being to hear and grant our prayers. As the attributes of God are innumerable, so are the names given to him in the Vedas. These names of God which we may call attributive, are also the names of many material objects. Thus *agni* is both all-knowing and effulgent God, and fire terrestrial ærial and eles'ial. The context alone can be our guide as to what meanings are to be taken in a passage.

Here are two diametrically opposed opinions of two eminent scholars on a most essential point of faith. Some of my hearers, influenced probably by the latent idea in their minds that the interpretation of Swami

Dayanand is far-fetched and false, may be inclined to give greater credence to Professor Max Muller, but I lean to the side of Swami Dayanand whose knowledge of Sanskrit was, in my humble opinion, superior to that of the distinguished Professor. Putting aside however our prepossessions for a moment, we should enquire and find out the truth because truth and truth alone should be the sovereign object of our desires.

To render issues clearer, let me sum up the position and point out the real cause of difference. Both of them admit that God is revealed to us by the Vedas. Here ends the agreement, and the difference begins. Swami Dayanand further maintains that *agni*, *vayu*, *surya*, &c., are the names of material objects as well as of God; the Professor seems to hold that they do not signify God. The question is, whose opinion is the correct one?

The ordinary sense of the word *deva devata* is the first cause of misconception in the popular mind. In English, too, they translate it by the term *god* or *goddess* which is misleading. These words imply supernatural beings who have power to grant or refuse our requests. Now whenever it is said that such and such a mantra has such and such a *devata* it is at once concluded that the hymn offers divine honours to it. There are mantras that have mortar and pestle as their *devatas*. Adversaries of the Vedic religion point it out with triumph, and complacently observe that there are traces of fetish-worship in the Vedas. They are quite wrong because they base their opinion on the use of the word *devata*

whose meaning they do not understand. It would be an insult to the learning of the Professor to assert that he also shares the popular mistake. He warns the reader against this error. He writes: "Now native scholars call these rivers *devatas* or deities and European translators too speak of them as gods and goddesses, unless we mean by gods and goddesses something very different from what the Greeks called river gods and river goddesses. And what applies to these rivers applies more or less to all objects of Vedic worship. They are still oscillating between what is seen by the senses, what is created by fancy and what is postulated by the understanding; they are things, persons, causes according to the varying disposition of the poets; and if we call them gods and goddesses, we must remember the remark of an ancient native theologian who reminds us that by *devata* or deity he means no more than the object celebrated in a hymn." Yaska is the excellent native theologian alluded to in the above quotation. He settles the question for ever by saying that the subject-matter of a hymn is its *devata*, be it the Great God Himself or any object of His creation. The Vedic mantras were meant to teach us religion as well as other useful knowledge, and they must have many material objects as their *devatas*. This in no way implies that we are to worship and adore them as Gods.

Now comes the all-important question, whether the words *agni*, *surya*, *akasa*, &c., have ever meant

God. The first impression of a man who is told that these words also mean God, is not much in favour of this view as he has been taught from his cradle to believe that the Vedas inculcate the worship of various dieties and his notions on the subject have been confirmed by the school and college education he has received. He is struck with the newness of the idea and thinks it to be far-fetched. But let him divest himself of preconceived ideas and work in the wide field of ancient Sanskrit literature for a period. He will be disabused of the wrong notion cherished by him from infancy. Gradually the conviction will grow in his mind that God is the primary and elements the secondary sense of the words. He will realise indescribable beauty in the mantras which he formerly held idolatrous. He will feel that no better words than *agni*, *vayu*, *surya* and *soma* could be found to describe the indiscribable whom the Vedas term Om. Gentlemen, this has been the experience of my own life, and I believe many others must have passed through the same mental state.

I will now quote proofs to establish our position. Some of them have been given by Swami Dayanand; others are new. They fall under the following arguments :

(1) The Vedas themselves declare that *agni*, *vayu*, &c., are the names of one Supreme Being. Look to Rig. 2-3-22-66. It is repeated as Rig. 1,22-8-46, Yaska translates it in this way, and his translation has been accepted *verbatim* by Sayana : "This *agni*

which is great and one, wise men call *mitra*, *varuna* resplendent and great." Max Muller expresses the same idea when he translates it thus: "That which is one, sages name it in various ways; they call it *agni*, *yama*, *matriswan*." The 1st mantra of the thirty-second Adhya of Yajur Veda runs thus: "He is verily Agni, He is verily Aditya, He is Vayu, He is certainly Chandra. He is verily Shukra, He is Brahma, He is Apah, He is Prajapati." Perhaps it may be objected by some that the mantra simply declares the identity of fire, sun, wind, moon, water, &c., but this is to credit the author of the Yajur Veda with more than human folly. Moreover the question is set at rest by the fact that Paramatma or the Supreme Soul is the *devata* of the hymn and the word *brahm* is used in the body of the mantra too.

(2) There are mantras in the Vedas wherein these words are used and where you cannot but translate them as God without violating the sense of the passage. In Yajur Veda 2-26, we have Ishwar as the deity of the mantra which conclusively shows that his attributes are given in the passage. Swami Dayanand translates the mantra thus; "O Ishwar, Thou art self-existent and beneficent. Thou art light and the giver of light; give me light also. I seek protection with the life-giving Being." The orthodox will have to translate it in this way: Thou art self-existent and beneficent. Thou art light and the giver of light: Give me light also. I seek the protection of the sun." The word in the original is *Surya*. If we understand it to mean the material sun,

the deity of the mantra becomes misleading. The *devata* itself here declares that *Surya* is synonymous with *Ishwar* or God. In the 14th and 15th mantras of the 32nd Adhya of Yajur Veda, we have God as deities, though in the body of the mantras we have merely such words as *Agni*, *Varuna*, *Indra* and *Vāyu*. The mantras are : O Agni, make me to-day wise with the wisdom which is desired by saints and sages. Varuna may grant me wisdom, Agni, the protector of his subject, may grant me wisdom. Indra and Vayu may grant me wisdom. The supporter may grant me wisdom." Had the prayers been addressed to elemental Gods, the Great God would never have been the deity of the mantras. To my mind at least the mantras are the proofs of the assertion that the words here indicate none else than God.

But to me no proof is stronger than that afforded to us by the study of the fortieth Adhya of the Yajur Veda. It is from first to last devoted to *brahma vidya* or divine knowledge. All the commentators are unanimous on this point. Mahidhar has the following prefatory remarks on the Adhya. " This Adhya has *Atma* or God as its *devata*, *anushtup* its metre and Dadhichatharwan its Rishi. The Rishi discourses to his son or pupil who has observed the sacraments, read the Vedas, begotten children, performed sacrifices to the best of his powers, who is without sins and desires, who has fashioned his conduct according to the five commands and the five precepts, and who is desirous of salvation." There are

17 hymns in the Adhya ; the word Agni in the vocative case occurs in the 16th. As *Atma* is the deity of the Adhya, Agni in the passage means God and not fire. The argument becomes irresistible when I consider the passage in the light of mantras that precede it. I give below the translation of the mantras from the 5th to the 16th. It will, besides, securing my object, give you an idea of God as taught by the Vedas ;

“ The Supreme Being eludes wholly and entirely the grasp of ignorant minds although in his own nature He is uniform and immovable. From those devoid of true knowledge he is far, though verily he is most approximate to the wise. He pervades the inside of the universe and verily he engrosses the outside. The wise man who perceives the entire creation as resting in the Supreme Being alone and the Supreme Being as pervading the entire universe never gives way to doubt. To him who has realised that the entire universe rests in the Supreme Being, every living being appears as dear as his own soul. Verily what in the world can grieve or elate him who has realised the unitary nature of the Supreme Spirit ? The Supreme Being pervades the entire universe. He is of infinite might. He is incorporeal, indivisible and impenetrable. He is free from the bonds of nerves and muscles. He is wholly free from sin. He is omniscient, privy to our inmost thoughts, presides over all and is self-existent. He reveals to his eternal subjects the true knowledge of the Vedas. Dense ignorance shall be the lot of those who seek beatitude in works alone

but far worse shall assuredly be the portion of those who seek it in knowledge alone. Far different is said to be the result of knowledge and far different of words. Thus have we heard from the sages who declared the same unto us. Whoever understands the value and nature of knowledge and works at one and the same time, the same shall by virtue of his works triumph over death and shall obtain beatitude by means of knowledge. Utter darkness shall be the lot of those who worship the primal atom but far greater darkness shall assuredly be consigned to those who worship the visible objects sprung from atoms. Far different are the results of *sambhawa* and *asambhawa*. Thus have we heard from the sages who declared the same unto us. He who understands *sambhut* and *vinash* at one and the same, shall by virtue of his knowledge of the primal atom triumph over death and shall obtain beatitude by virtue of the knowledge of the divinity in visible creation. The air shall sustain the immortal soul while the material body shall be consumed to ashes. O active being, think till thy latest breath of the Supreme eternal spirit, of him for strength and think of thine own actions. O Omniscient Agni, we bow unto thee with profound humility; cast out from us all debasing and sinful desires and habits, and lead us by paths of righteousness to the acquisition of all true knowledge that we may enjoy true happiness."

Gentlemen mark the use of the word *widuum agni* in the last but one mantra of an Adhya devoted exclusively to the knowledge of God. We are required to

pray to Agni after we have acquired the sublime knowledge communicated in the Adhya. Can *Agni* in this passage mean anything else than God? Can even an orthodox Pandit, true to his own traditions, believe that a Brahmovadin is required to pray to fire? No one in his senses can believe that the Vedic Rishi, who had realised the sublime idea of God from the preceding mantras, will bow down to fire and ask it to lead him in the paths of righteousness? Is it not profanity to think a Rishi capable of such an act? Surely the word *agni* here does not and cannot signify anything else than the Supreme Spirit, the deity of the mantra.

(3) Rishis have declared in their works that these words are used for God. In the last Adhya of Svetashar Upanishad we find the word *Agni* used in Slokas 14 and 15. In the first, it means fire and in the second God. The juxtaposition is significant. "There the sun does not shine, nor moon and stars, nor does this lighting gleam, how can this *Agni* or terrestrial fire shine. He shining, all those shine; all this shines by his light. There is one God, destroyer of ignorance in the midst of the universe. Surely he is *Agni* residing in a pure heart. Knowing him alone, one can triumph over death, no other way exists to walk in life." No one can doubt that the term *Agni* is used as synonymous with God. In the first section of Aitreya Upanishad the student enquires from his teacher who is that *atma* whom we worship, and he replies that he is Omniscient himself who is called by such names as Indra, Brahma and Prajapati. Vyasa,

the author of the Vedant Sutras, and his commentator, the celebrated Shankar, are conclusive on this point. The Sutras that bear on this subject are 11, 22, 23, 24, and 1-2, 24 and 1, 3, 8, 10, 14, 39, 40, 41. Sutras 22, 14 and 41 relate to Akash. They are, "He that is Brahm is called Akash because it expresses His qualities." "For reasons given afterwards he is called Dahar or Akash;" "He is called Akash because he has been spoken of as containing all things." On Sutras 22 and 41 Shankar has the following: "It is written in the Chhandogya Upanishad 'What is the fate of this world.' He the teacher replied Akash, all these objects are born from Akasha, in the end they return to him, Akasha is far greater than these, Akash is their support." There is a doubt, whether Akash signifies Parabram or elemental, space. Why is there doubt; because the world is employed in *both* senses. Here we say it is right to take it in the sense of Brahma." Again: "Akash is certainly the container of *man and rup*. He within whom they are contained is Brahm. He is immortal. He is the spirit." Thus says the Sruti. Whether Akash here signifies Parabrahma of well-known elemental space, is to be considered. It may be proper to take it as signifying space, for the meaning is fixed by usage; it is the container of *man and rup* because of the room which it affords and there is no mention of such specific attributes as the creation of the world. But still there it is right to interpret it as meaning Parabrahm." Sutras 24 and 40 relate to Jyoti and mean: "He is called

Jyoti or light because it is a part of his attributes. He is called light because he is so declared." Says Upanishad: "This our soul after leaving the body attains to supreme light and abides in its own form." Commenting upon this, Shankar declares that although it has been said that saved souls abide in the sun, the word light here means God. Therefore He is *Pran*; He is so called because the world trembles from His fear. On the first Shankar remarks that *Pran* here is not air in special conditions but God, the life of all. Sutra 8 declares that God is Bhuma because he has been pointed out as superior to human soul. In Sutra 10 God is styled as *Akshar* because He supports all things contained in space. Shankar has the following upon it: "Sruti says 'in whom is space contained and thoroughly contained?' Here replies, 'Verily he is that Akshar, O Gargu whom the Brahmins speak of as subtle and great.'" Here is a doubt whether Akshar means a letter or God. The agreements in favour of the former sense or that *Akshar* is ordinarily known to mean a letter and Shruti declares the universe as contained in *Om* letter. But *Akshar* really signifies God because he contains all that is contained in space." Commenting on Sutra 24 of the 2nd Pada, Sankaracharya writes: "*Vishwnar* is the Supreme Spirit, because He is the soul of all. Agni shall also used in the sense of the Supreme Spirit." The great law giver Manu says at the end of his famous work: Some call him Agni, others Manu and Prajapati many name him Indra and Prana, others the eternal Brahm."

Gentlemen, you must have been tired by my frequent quotations from Shastras and other works but that was unavoidable owing to the importance of the subject. The whole fabric of the Vedic faith is based on the rock of this truth and any number of quotations brought forward to fortify it are not amiss. Let me also state it that our views on the subject though opposed to those of Professor Max Muller, derive support from the quotations given by me. He says that in the Vedas different deities have no defined position given to them. None is always first and none is always last. Now to my mind this admission is proof of the truth of Swami Dayanand's position. I need not coin new words to name and explain the fact. Our explanation is simple. The names of all the deities are the names of one Supreme Being and therefore there can be no subordination of one name to the other. All the names are first and all last. To me it appears that the learned Professor has also got glimmerings of the truth. He writes at the end of the chapter which I have already quoted; "You see this is as beautiful and in some respects as true as the Psalms and we know that there never was such a Deva or God or such a thing as Varuna. We know, it is a mere name meaning originally 'covering or all embracing' which was applied to the visible starry sky and afterwards by a process perfectly intelligible developed into the name of a being endowed with human and superhuman qualities." A little further on "Only let us be careful in the use of that phrase, it is a mere name. Every name

was originally meant for some thing: only it often failed to express and then became a weak or empty name what we then call a mere name. So it was with these names of Vedic Gods. They were all meant to express the Beyond, the Invisible behind the visible, the Infinite with the Finite, the Supernatural above the Natural, Divine Omnipresent and Omnipotent. They failed in expressing what by its very nature must always remain inexpressible. But that Inexpressible itself remained and in spite of all these failures, it never succumbed or vanished from the minds of the ancient thinkers and poets, but always called for new and better names, nay calls for them even now and will call for them to the very end of Man's existence upon earth." Gentlemen, here is a partial admission. The Professor seems to admit that the names of the Vedic Gods were meant to express the invisible, the infinite and the supernatural. Swami Dayanand contends that they meant the invisible as well as the visible forces of nature which the Professor calls Gods but Swami names Devatas in the sense in which Yaska uses the words.

Gentlemen, I have tried to defend Swami Dayanand and his commentary though they stand in no need of defence from a weak man like myself. I believe that his discovery of the key to the interpretation of the times and that if you realise it once and work with heart within and God overhead, it will produce momentous results not only in the life of the Hindu nation but in the history of the world. I see signs

of the spiritual renaissance of the world through India.
May the forecast be true and may the members of
the Arya Samaj justify it by their conduct.



Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha

SIR DINSHAW EDULJI WACHA

The small community of Parsees that settled in Western India one thousand two hundred years ago has made ample compensation to the land of its adoption for the generous hospitality that it received, when driven from its own native land by the rage of religious persecution. The members of this ancient race are to-day among the foremost pioneers of commercial expansion, and leaders of thought and social reform. To their other contributions to the material and intellectual life of the land must be added the unique distinction of having enriched its public life by the labour of love of some of the greatest patriots of the day. What shall we say of the Grand Old Man of India, one of the greatest of the sons of Mother India whom he has loved so long and served so well? Does any one need to be reminded of the uncrowned King of Bombay, the brilliant Sir P. M. Mehta? Who can forget Mr. (now Sir) Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, the deep financier, the Todar Mall of the Bombay Presidency? In these pages we shall recount the glories of the last of this trinity of Parsee patriots, his many achievements in local and imperial politics, his Congress eminence and his reputation as one who distinguished

himself before the Welby Commission by his ability and lucidity in marshalling facts and figures. He has been a keen Congressman, and was one of the Secretaries of the Allahabad Convention Committee. His personal character is found to consist of such genial elements that it can be said of him that he was formed in the prodigality of nature, so diverse and rich and manifold are they. At an age when most Indians begin to feel the rapid advance of time, he maintains the vigour and elasticity of mind and of youth. There is no one to-day in public life in India who can bear comparison with him in the multitude of his activities and in the completeness with which he goes through them. In addition to the vast stores of knowledge and experience which he has accumulated by patience, and industry on all matters connected with Indian finance in all its departments, he revels in the study of the politics and commerce of foreign lands. No better example of the depth and varied nature of the information that he has acquired can be given than the elaborate lecture that he delivered on October 14, 1908, before the Graduates' Association of Bombay, on the subject of "The Science of Commerce and Economics." As the *Times of India* says, "His theme is not new, but he presented it with a wealth of illustrations and cogent arguments that must be most agreeable even to those familiar with the advantages to be derived from a course of instruction in business economics."

Unlike most men he is not morbidly conscious of the burden of honours with which he has been loaded.

Simple, gracious, gentle alike to great and small, he is withal one of the most uncompromising and sternest of men, when any question of principle is involved on which he is required to take a firm stand. He may not be unaptly termed the Indian Aristides, so holy and strong is his indignation against corruption and laxity of administration.

It was on 2nd August 1844 that Dinshaw Edulji Wacha was born. His father belonged to a good middle class Parsi family and was engaged in trade. In his fourteenth year he became a pupil of the Elphinstone Institute, where he continued four years. In October 1858 he entered Elphinstone College, then under the management of Dr. John Harkness who was assisted by a brilliant professorial staff. The College education was of considerable benefit to him, and his conduct won for him the commendation of Sir Alexander Grant, a Professor of his College, who spoke of him as having a "gentlemanly pleasing deportment." Before he could finish his course, his father took him from the College and placed him under himself on his own commercial business. He was for a while employed in the Bank of Bombay and afterwards in the firm of Messrs. Brodie and Wilson, thus laying deep the foundations of his financial acumen. He is at present in the Cotton industry of Bombay, in the capacity of managing agent of Morarji Gokuldas and Sholapur Mills.

With his keen ardour he took part in the public life of his city, such as it was in the days before the

founding of the Indian National Congress. He was for seven years the ablest assistant of Mr. Malabarî in the work of editing *The Indian Spectator* to the columns of which he contributed many brilliant articles on the burning questions of the day. He derived his inspiration and knowledge from Mr. R. Knight Maclean, the famous Editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, who performed in those days the work of keeping a vigilant eye over the vagaries of administration. Mr. Maclean's contributions on the land revenue, opium, and inam commission, and almost in all financial and economic problems, kindled Mr. Wacha's youthful enthusiasm in the same direction and led him to master the intricacies.

His fearless criticism of municipal administration in his city brought him to prominence, and his abilities were utilised to the fullest extent when he entered the Corporation to represent the Fort Ward of Bombay. He has obtained a complete grasp of municipal problems and he is on one or other of the many committees of the Corporations. He has had many a keen fight with the Commissioner, and has fearlessly discharged his duties without the suspicion of personal rancour.

He was one of those five Indian gentlemen who gave evidence before the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure in 1897 and the fullest confidence was reposed in him by the Indian public, as seen by the fact that he was chosen by the Bombay Presidency Association and by that following resolution passed by the Indian National Congress, held in December, 1896 :

"That this Congress desire to place on record its sense of satisfaction at the delegation by the Bombay Presidency Association of Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, Joint General Secretary of the Congress, to give evidence before the Royal Commission on Expenditure, and the Congress has full confidence that Mr. Wacha will give accurate and adequate expression to its views on the questions which form the subject of enquiry."

From the very commencement of the Indian National Congress in 1885, he has been identified with it and his masterly speeches on the Congress platform are replete with the stores of knowledge which he has gathered during years of patient toil. In 1895 he was chosen President of the Provincial Conference held at Belgaum where he broadly surveyed in his inaugural address the financial condition. Mr. Wacha reached the zenith of his glory, having been appointed President of the Bombay Corporation without any anxiety on his part to secure the coveted position which could only be adorned by a man of such brilliant parts. A greater honour by far than this was conferred upon him when the choice of the Presidentship of the Calcutta Congress in 1901 fell upon him. It is now a historical fact with what conspicuous ability he discharged the high functions of that onerous office. The *Times of India* recognized that he is a man of an "indefatigable energy that would be conspicuous in New York" and that he showed "an indifference to place and distinction very unusual in this country."

The many and various activities which have filled his

time even to overflowing can be best described in his own words in stating his qualifications to give evidence before the Welby Commission in 1897:

"I am, besides being the Honorary Secretary of the Bombay Presidency Association, honorary joint General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, and a Member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, I am also the Managing Agent of a large and flourishing Cotton Mill and a member of the managing committee of the Bombay Mill Owner's Association. For many years past I have employed my leisure hours in the study and discussion of public affairs, specially on finance and economic subjects, and have regularly contributed to the local press many articles on these subjects. I have also taken, and am still taking, an active part on the many public movements in the city. At the annual sittings of the Indian National Congress I have made speeches on military expenditure from time to time as well as on such topics as cotton duties, income-tax, exchange compensation and so forth. Similarly I have taken part as Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Conference, which annually meets in some prominent town in the Presidency and have addressed at such on the expanded Legislative Councils, on the way in which provincial budgets are discussed thereat, and on other matters, including the revenue from the drink traffic. On the latter question, to which I have devoted close attention, I wrote a series of articles in the *Bombay Gazette* which I afterwards reprinted in pamphlet form, copies of which were forwarded to the Bombay

Government, the Government of India, and the Secretary of State. In my honorary capacity as the Secretary of the Bombay Branch of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, I memorialized the Government, pointing out the evils of their excise system, and criticized as Secretary of the Presidency Association, the Moura Bill, which the entire Presidency condemned. I also issued a pamphlet on the burning question of agricultural distress, and the impoverished condition of the Indian peasantry, chiefly basing my criticism on the official facts embodied in the report of the condition of the people, published on the eve of Lord Dufferin's departure. I have taken a leading part at meetings of the Bombay Mill-Owner's Association and have spoken on questions affecting the Cotton Industry. Last year I contributed to the *Times of India* a series of letters on the growth of revenue and expenditure of the Bombay Municipality, and I have been continually contributing articles to the press on Imperial finances."

This brief account of the manifold activities of an expert on finance would be incomplete, if it were not enlarged by a citation of his views on many of the questions which have occupied his attention. He is convinced like other Indian patriots that "it is no doubt highly essential for the economic administration of the empire that its finances should be closely looked into and steadily watched, especially in India, where the people have no direct voices in checking or controlling it." It is simply unreasonable to expect that the finance minister or even the Viceroy

would be as keenly interested in the proper expenditure of the taxpayers' money as the taxpayers themselves who have now "no effective voice in the Councils of the Empire." The present financial machinery is entirely inadequate as there is really no constitutional check upon the vagaries of the executive who can carry through any budget. "It is true that under the expanded Legislative Councils, both Provincial and Imperial, there are a few non-official members who are indirectly elected as the representatives of the people. Their presence in the Council is most valuable. They are mostly leading men who have devoted much attention to financial matters, and are in a position to represent the taxpayers' points of view; but after all, their criticism cannot be considered effective so long as they are debarred from bringing motions for the curtailment of expenditure in a budget and dividing the council thereon. There is a consensus of opinion on the subject among Indians that this privilege should be conceded, and is absolutely needed." It is felt that if leading corporations at Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, and the various local and district boards, are allowed to discuss and vote their respective budgets there could be no reason for withholding the same privilege, which is still more needed, at budgets in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils."

"It has, however, been alleged that such concessions might sometimes defeat Government, which is not desirable. This allegation carries its own refutation. For, as a matter of fact, under the standing rules

the Government has always an official majority, and if such a thing happens as the defeat of the Government it shows that there must be an overwhelming case made out by the non-official members to lead to such a division.

"It is also very desirable in connection with the budget in the Viceregal Council that its members, as well as a few outside public bodies like the Chambers of Commerce and recognized Associations, should be supplied with copies of the Civil and Military estimates, which contain the details of the revenue and expenditure of each province, before the budget is brought forward. At present they are not accessible to the members or to such bodies."

"The financial statement is also subjected to criticism, as the revised estimates exceed the Budget estimates, and the accounts are generally better than the revised estimates it would seem, that apart from budget estimates even the revised estimates are not yet so carefully prepared as they should be. Bearing in mind that these estimates are made before a month or so before the accounts for the financial year are closed. I am of opinion that there should be no such striking variations between them and the actuals as they are revealed."

On the subject of Exchange Compensation Allowance, he expressed himself as follows before the Welby Commission:—"There was absolutely no reason for the Indian Government to impose on the one hand a further burden on the taxpayers, and on

the other simultaneously give more to those who are already in the enjoyment of very liberal salaries—salaries which cannot be paralleled in any part of the civilized world. That there was no legal obligation to allow this compensation has been fully admitted by the Government of India, and specially at the expense of the taxpayers, as if they did not suffer also from the burden of exchange as if they did not contribute to help the state to cover the loss arising from it. But objectionable as it is there is no validity even in the reason assigned, namely, that Civil and Military Officers have felt it a great hardship to remit monies home for maintenance and education of their families in England. In the first place the Government is not bound to take this plea into consideration. The patent economic fact of the increased purchasing power of gold seems to have been entirely ignored. If the officers have less sovereigns to remit for the equivalent in rupees, their families are able to buy more of all domestic goods. It will be seen that the prices of almost all articles of domestic consumption and wearing apparel have greatly fallen since 1884 and my enquiry since my arrival in London would deem to inform one that house rent even in so dear a place as London has fallen. In the teeth of these facts, it was a gross act of injustice to the Indian taxpayer to impose fresh burdens on him for the sake of the services. Nothing has created greater dissatisfaction than this measure—arbitrary and worthy only of oriental despotism, regardless of the famine-stricken condition.

of the people, rather than that of a just Government as the Government of India purports to be. But for this there would have been no necessity to reimpose the import duty on merchandise, and the sooner this financial injustice is removed the better."

He contended before the Welby Commission that the increase in expenditure and the consequent financial embarrassments were to be ascribed principally to the enormous growth of military expenditure. It is the scheme of amalgamation of 1889 which made the Indian Army uniform in all respects with the English army that has led to the growth in military expenditure. As Mr. Wacha pointed out in his speech delivered before the Seventh Session of the Indian National Congress held at Nagpur; "It was virtually a partnership transaction, as was observed by the late Prof. Fawcett in which the stronger and the richer partner successfully managed to foist on the weaker and the poorer, burdens which really did not belong to her. Before 1864 and 1885 they had increased it (military expenditure) by five crores. Since the days of the Second Afghan War of unhappy memory, there has been no limit to that growth." The burden of military charges has increased in consequence of changes made "in the organization of the British army, changes made entirely, it may be said, from imperial considerations, in which Indian interests have not been consulted or advanced". It is not necessary to mention in this connection the facts and figures by which Mr. Wacha proves his case to the hilt. The frontier wars have

enormously added to the weight of taxation, which the poor people of India have to bear with uncomplaining patience. "The military tax-eaters at Simla, who eagerly pant for promotions, decorations, and kudos besides, do not leave a stone unturned under one pretext or another to push forward what is euphemistically termed "the scientific frontier" a visionary frontier leading nowhere, but ever plunging the country into greater and greater financial embarrassments." The practical suggestions that he made before the Welby Commission with regard to military expenditure are :—

(1) That the military expenditure must be materially reduced and (2) the costly foreign agency must be gradually replaced by an economical native agency, and a fair share of the expenditure must be borne by the United Kingdom for arresting the great moral and material drain of this alien agency which the country has been witnessing for years past.

On the appointment of charges his opinions may be summed up in these words :—(1) That in reference to all charges which are incurred for the common interests both of England and India, it is just and expedient that England should bear at least half of those paid for the European agency, military and civil, employed in England and India. (2) That India should not be called upon to pay any charge ordinary or extraordinary whatever in reference to all services which India may be called upon to render to England unless India was directly interested, and that in such case the charges should also be equally borne by England and India. (3)

That Indian affairs must be kept within the natural boundaries of India, and she should not be dragged into those matters outside those boundaries, and made to pay their cost. (4) That if India is to be treated as a partner which she is not in any sense at present, she should share all the benefit accruing from partnership.

The Public Service Commission made certain recommendations which, although they did not do full justice to our claims to higher and more extended employments in the higher grades of the public service, have been practically ignored. Speaking on a resolution of the 17th Session of the Indian National Congress, held at Madras, he said that "the higher appointments are given in a considerably large proportion to natives. They say that a certain number of appointments should be always held by the English for efficiently superintending the administration of the country. We are willing that such fair number of appointments should be reserved. But after all, superintending appointments for administrative efficiency could only be very limited; the remaining appointments should be very large. But monopolist as the Government is, I suppose, it feels bound to carry on the traditions of the East India Company who were great seekers of place and power. The Civil Service is nothing if not a close service of the greatest monopolists of place and power in the world. Still more so, because they are masters of the situation. The Government consists solely of these monopolists. They are clear

adepts at passing resolutions as to how to reserve all the fattest and the most numerous appointments for themselves. There is again their counterpart the India Office. Some of the retired civilians who have sufficiently fattened here allow themselves to fatten there for at least ten years ; and in the bargain do what they can to starve the very natives of India whose salt they eat all through their retirement. This is the situation, gentlemen. Imagine the economic evil of the salaries and pensions enjoyed by this army of monopolists. But this economic stress would be reduced if the Government were to act in good faith, that is, carry out the declared policy of this country, of diverse charters and the Queen's Proclamation.

The imposition of the Excise Duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on cotton fabrics manufactured in this country is felt, as a grievous injustice and a resolution of the Ahmedabad Congress earnestly prayed that the Government would be pleased to take the matter into consideration and repeal the duty at an early date : "The Excise Duty was imposed not for revenue purposes but to please those philistines the Manchester manufacturers, because they have got something like 57 votes in the House of Commons. Gentlemen, as far as India is concerned, whichever ministry is in power—whether liberal or conservative—they invariably sacrifice her interests for the benefit of the Manchester manufacturers, because their vote is so powerful. The Editor of the *Times of India* says that it is but right and proper that the English public should know what Indian public

opinion is on this question, and how keenly Indians feel the apparent injustice of this imposition. They say it is for protection. But, where is the protection, we ask? We asked that question eight years ago when the duty was imposed and we are still waiting for the answer. There are 30 crores worth of piece goods annually imported from Lancashire, but against this quantity we have no such goods to compete, for practically all the Indian piece goods are of coarser make. They belong to counts ranging from 1 to 20 or from 20 to 24, whereas all the goods that come here from Manchester are above 20 or what they call usually 32 medium, ranging from 24 to 36. As far as the average 32 medium is concerned India weaves very little of this quality..... The revenue derived from this imposition amounts to about Rs. 17 lakhs, a mere flea bite. These Rs. 17 lakhs have annually been taken as duty from the weaving mills of Bombay and Ahmedabad during the last 8 years. Practically it means that this amount of 1.36 crores has gone out of the pockets of the Indian tax-payers into the pockets of the Government of India for no purpose whatever."

We have given quotations from some of the speeches of Mr. Wacha on the various highly technical subjects of finance and revenue, but no one could form an adequate idea of the wealth of his information who has not devoted a considerable time to the study of such questions. He is still alive among us, pursuing his occupation with the placid serenity, of a conscientious mind, ever alive to the varying needs of a com-

licated situation, and it is devoutly hoped that he will be with us for many years to come, blessed with strength and faith to work for the political advancement of our land. A public man in this country cannot command any other reward than the applause of his countrymen and, above all, the approbation of his own conscience, the silent monitor within him. Mr. Wacha has the full assurance that his countrymen owe him a deep debt of gratitude for his services, and we are equally confident that he enjoys the approval of his conscience, the highest reward that is given to the noblest and purest of men to obtain. In recognition of his patriotic services he was elected by his countrymen as a non-official member of the Bombay Legislative Council.

The untimely demise of Mr. Gokhale and that of Mr. Mehta found the moderate party of Indian politics in Bombay without a powerful leader. Mr. Wacha who, by natural inclinations and temperament, was never intended to be in the limelight of leadership was obliged to step into the place made void by the removal of the two illustrious leaders. He succeeded to the place of the late Mr. Gokhale in the Imperial Legislative Council and with his powerful mastery of facts and figures and an eloquence which could easily pour itself at the rate of 200 words per minute, it is no wonder that he has made himself a conspicuous figure fit to be called the worthy wearer of the mantle of that Master of Council debate Mr. Gokhale. It is true that at times he runs counter to popular opinions, as may be

seen from his speech on the exodus debate where the unfortunate line of argument he adopted offended the feelings of not a few of his admirers. But Mr. Wacha, though a satellite through life modulating his opinions on those of a powerful personality, had never learnt the art of trimming his views to popular taste nor set his sails to catch the passing breeze of popularity. What he feels he would boldly give out, though thereby he would run the risk of losing the good opinion of his fellow-countrymen. The Government had lately come to recognize the sterling worth of the Parsee patriot by conferring upon him the title of knighthood. Some would have wished that following the example of Mr. Gokhale, he would have shunned the title and would have been content with a mere "Mr." As has been already said, Mr. Wacha is in such matters guided by his own convictions rather than by the opinions of others. Now that the whole country is passing through an acute political crisis, it is gratifying to find Mr. Wacha standing in the forefront of the nationalist party in their struggle for self-government within the Empire. Under his leadership, the Bombay Presidency Association as the premier political body in India, has boldly stood for popular freedom and Bombay, which has always stood aloof from the storm and stress of the political arena, has now thrown itself heart and soul into the new struggle for political emancipation; relegating Bengal into a place of secondary importance. The active association of Mr. Wacha with this propaganda is one of the most gratifying features of the

new situation. Two Parsi leaders of the illustrious trio have passed away and Mr. Wacha stands to-day the sole remnant of a glorious body and it is the earnest wish of every Indian that he would live long to the honour and glory of the motherland as did live the illustrious Dadabhoy and Pheroze Shah.

THE INDIAN CURRENCY QUESTION

(*Madras Congress, 1898*)

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which has been entrusted to me runs as follows :

(a) That, having regard to fact that the principal cause of the loss by exchange is the steady growth in the demands on India for expenditure in England this Congress is of opinion that any artificial device for meeting that loss either by changing the currency at a heavy cost or contracting the internal currency must add to the pressure on India's monetary resources and to her trading disadvantage.

(b) That the only real relief lies in carrying out practically the principle, affirmed by competent authorities of England bearing an equitable share of that expenditure.

(c) That the Congress regrets that, save Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt and Mr. Merwanji Rastamji competent and qualified Indian representatives have not yet been invited as witnesses to represent the Indian view of matters on the subject which now engages the attention of the Currency Committee of which Sir Henry Fowler is the President.

(d) That the President be authorized to request Sir W. Wedderburn, Chairman of the British Congress Committee, to communicate this Resolution to Sir Henry Fowler, Chairman of the Currency Committee in London.

From the resolution that I have just read out to you, it will no doubt be readily understood how important is this subject of currency at the present moment and how far-reaching it is in its effects, intimately bound up as it is with the whole economic situation of a country so vast as India. When you reflect on the fact that the welfare of the people of a country greatly depends on its economic conditions of which currency is one of the most potent, you will, I dare say, readily admit the influence such a condition exerts not only on the material prosperity of the population as a whole, but on that of each unit composing it. You may, therefore, easily realise what it is to alter the established currency of a country like India with its three hundred millions of people. Practically, its effects have influence on each unit of those millions. They affect you and they affect me. (*Hear, hear.*) But though each individual feels their influence, he is not able to prove the cause or causes to the root. Highly technical as this subject of currency is, it is obvious that the difficulty of apprehending it lies in its manifold aspects. But technical though it be, I hope not to tire your patience while I am decanting on it, or make you go to sleep. I cannot say that I will keep you quite enlivened as our friend Mr. Khaparde (*cheers*) did yesterday by his humorous

speech in connexion with the retrogressive policy of our rulers in the matter of Local Self-Government. Currency in the first place, is rather too serious a subject to be trifled with, and in the second place, it will not lend itself to humour.

I shall at the outset recall to your mind, as briefly as possible, the history of the currency legislation during the last five years and then survey the situation as revealed by the evidence recorded before the Committee of which Sir Henry Fowler is the President. Ladies and Gentlemen, from the very day that the new currency nostrum, officially known as the Amended Coinage Act of 1893, was enacted as law within half an hour by the Legislature at Simla, without any of the representatives of the people being summoned for the occasion, it has often occurred to me that the Government of India and the services were entirely going wrong on this question. We have among us a native proverb, at least on my side of India, that when the stomach is in disorder it is the head that is complained of. While the stomach is aching the head is needlessly accused. (*Laughter*). Precisely in the same way, the disease, Ladies and Gentlemen, is not currency at all, but the Home charges. It is misleading for the Government and its high officials to aver that it is the instability of exchange which has disturbed the finances for many a year past; and that the great divergence between the value of gold and silver is the cause of that instability. In their opinion, that cause could only be removed by altering the currency. Everything would

under that circumstance go right. The financial embarrassments would be a thing of the past and prosperity would return to the State. But the authorities entirely ignore the fact that exchange would never be a disturbing factor were the gold obligations of the Government non-existent. Exchange was only the result of those obligations. The obligations themselves are the primary cause, the fountain and origin, of the great evils to be relieved for which they loudly insist upon a change of currency. You all know what is a patent fact, that these gold obligations have now mounted up to nearly 17 million sterling (*Hear, hear*). There has been for years past a steady growth in the demand made on India by the Home Government for expenditure incurred in England. But before I dilate on this question of the Home charges which alone, I repeat, are the root of the present financial difficulty, and not currency, I trust you will bear with me for a few moments while I endeavour to call to your mind the history of the currency legislation since 26th June 1893.

It was on that fateful day that the older Currency Act, which for many a year past had worked most smoothly, most automatically, and to the greatest welfare of the people, was superseded by an amended one whereby the mints were entirely closed to the free coinage of silver. All the economic evils from which the people at large and the banking and mercantile communities have suffered and are suffering since that event, owe their origin to that measure which has often been characterised, and in my opinion justly characterised,

as "the crime of 26th June 1893" (*Hear, hear*). As I observed at one of the previous Congresses, that legislation was purely the offspring of panic. We have had more than one piece of panic legislation, of a most mischievous and obnoxious character (*Hear, hear*) since that date; but this particular enactment was the result of the economic panic which has seized the Government of India and of which, it seems, it has not yet ridden itself. Without caring to carefully diagnose the true complaint, the Government jumped to the conclusion that it was the great disparity between silver and gold which created all the financial disturbance. It, therefore, straightway forged a new Currency Act and passed it in half an hour, with merely the semblance of a debate, while there was not a single representative of the people to explain the popular view of that measure. Had there been such representatives they might have informed the Legislature of the immense mischief that enactment was certain to create and the dislocation of the trade it would bring in its train. How the great staple manufactures and industries suffered, how exports contracted, how confidence was shaken, and how suspense and anxiety for months prevailed, are now all matters of history. The Government, frightened merely by the rumour of what the Treasury of the United States might do in connexion with the Sherman Act, thought that silver would depreciate further and that exchange would rule lower than even a shilling, bringing about an appalling deficit; however, the unwise and ill-considered step

was taken, in spite of the protest of the whole country save the selfish services and the interested members of the Gold Defence Association, led by Sir James Mackay. The principal object of the measure was to induce a stable ratio, such as would remain steady somewhere at 16 pence. But it was soon discovered that no such stability could be imparted and no such rate could be maintained. It was fondly entertained by the currency prodigies at headquarters that the immediate effect of the closure of the mints would be a diminution of the imports of silver. But to their intense disappointment that hope was not realised. The very first trouble which exercised their mind was the continued importation of the metal. The average in the four years following was only half a crore below the normal average of the thirty-five years previous, namely, 7 crores. This important fact proved the failure of the measure. Exchange ruled as under after the date of the closure :—

at 14·5 pence in 1895-4
„ 13·10 „ in 1894-5
at 13·63 „ in 1895-6
„ 14·48 „ in 1896-7

Silver could not be shut out. In my opinion it never could be shut out, however stringent and prohibitive legislation might be. As you all know, India is the sink of silver. From time immemorial it has absorbed the white metal and will continue to absorb it though it may for a time be artificially shut out. It has been found to be the most suitable metal for all economic as-

well as domestic purposes. It is a fundamental axiom of economists that currency should not be of a material which is not suitable and convenient to the people. Only the other day Sir R. Giffen, in his able criticism on the Government of India's proposal, in the *Economic* journal for October last, emphasised that fundamental proposition, Lord Rothschild has been of the same opinion. Hence to shut out silver from India is simply a hopeless task. It will be purely Sisyphean in its character. The sooner, therefore, the currency quacks cure themselves of this craze to boycott silver from this ancient country the better. (*Hear, hear*).

But when they found that silver could not be shut out and that exchange, in spite of the closure of the mints, went downward and downward till at one moment it almost reached one shilling they thought of another panacea, equally futile. The next measure was the Gold Bill which Sir James Westland thought would stimulate the inflow of gold. But as the fates would have it, no sooner was this precious measure, the offspring of that great financial paragon, (*Laughter*) passed into law, than it became abortive—a dead letter on the Statute-book. It was pronounced to be an abortion from the very first. And the thing had to be quietly buried without shedding one tear over it, for not many ounces of gold were offered at the Treasuries, and the bankers laughed heartily in their sleeves at that impotent attempt to prop up exchange (*Hear, hear*). Meanwhile, there intervened the troubles of the famine first and of the

pestilence later on. Expedition, again, beyond the natural boundaries of the country, were organized on the flimsiest of flimsy pretexts. The combined influences of these events were most embarrassing to the finances. Whilst they were in the midst of these physical and economic troubles, a ray of hope was offered by two great Western States. France and the United States suggested a proposal for re-opening of the mints under certain conditions. One of those conditions was that the ratio should be maintained at $15\frac{1}{2}$. That, of course, was out of the question. But the question of the ratio alone should not have caused the contemptuous rejection of the proposal as a whole, calculated as it was to bring about some definite solution of the silver difficulty. By hook or by crook, the Indian Government had worked itself into a frame of mind which could not accept anything which went to rehabilitate silver. Gold and gold alone was determined upon as the panacea for the state of affairs which their own economic policy of years had ultimately induced. Thus, the Government gave a *non possumus* to the proposal. In my personal opinion it was an excellent one which, had it been well considered and adopted after reasonable modifications, might have by this time fairly solved our difficulties. That was another grave blunder in matters of currency. Even such an apologist of the Government of India as the *Pioneer* pointed out the error and expostulated on its summary rejection. That it was a huge blunder was further confirmed by Lord Rothschild in his evidence

the other day before the Currency Committee (*Hear, hear*). This was the third stage of the Governmental failure to induce stability in exchange.

Meanwhile the aggressive border expedition, the famine and the pestilence combined to exhaust the cash balances. They went down considerably below the normal figure, causing severe stringency in the monetary market against which the entire Indian and Anglo-Indian community raised a cry. While this was the prevalent condition of affairs, the master mind of Sir James Westland was busy manufacturing another nostrum to relieve the country of its so-called currency embarrassments. He conceived, what he thought was a most happy and practical idea, of entirely divorcing the rupee from the bullion, whereby the value of the former could be artificially raised beyond its intrinsic worth and at the same time the gold standard passed under the Amended Coinage Act of 1893 could be forced by gradually melting down the reserve rupee in the treasury. That so preposterous a scheme, fraught with economic evils of greater magnitude than those wrought by the previous measure, should have at all been proposed passes beyond comprehension! No sooner was it officially given out than it raised an emphatic protest from all quarters. There was not a single apologist of that measure to bless it. Its absurdity and mischievous effect, if it passed, were seen through. It became the subject of the most hostile criticism in the press and in the banking and the commercial circles (*Hear, hear*). But Sir James thought

he was, at the close of his financial career, achieving a most wonderful miracle in the currency—a miracle which would enable the Indian Government to roll in wealth in future, expunge that official and canting phrase “low exchange” from future financial statements, and assist him to retire in a blaze of glory (*Laughter*). Little did he think of the storm that would rage round that pet measure, and little did he know how much unrest and dissatisfaction the very pronouncement of it would create in all parts of the country. The divorce of the rupee from silver has already appreciated that coin, beyond its intrinsic worth. It is now valued at about 45 per cent higher. So that practically the rupee is *not the honest rupee* which the Legislature has defined. Its value bears no proportion to the standard weight. It is something else. The evils of this dishonest rupee are patent to you all and I need not dilate on them. None has better described them than Mr. David Yule at the meeting of the Calcutta Bank some weeks ago. But this is the preposterous proposal of the Finance Minister, which is not the subject of investigation by that packed Committee of which Sir Henry Fowler is the Chairman. We need not anticipate the conclusions of that Committee, though it should not create any surprise if it registers the decision at which the Indian Government has already arrived (*Hear, hear*). But, I repeat, preposterous as this proposal is, and calculated as it is to create greater evils in the near future, it is the duty of this Congress to enter its emphatic protest against this latest currency

nostrum as against any other panacea which may have for its object an alteration of the currency which, as I have said, is all right—a currency against which the people have never complained, a currency which in the opinion of all sound experts is the most suitable and convenient to the people of India and in every way beneficial to their material progress (*Hear, hear*).

This, Ladies and Gentlemen, brings me to my next point which is the kernel of the resolution I read to you. I have already remarked that the India Government has all through gone on the wrong track, that there is nothing the matter with currency. What is wrong is *the policy* of the Government which for well-nigh a century past has gone on steadily increasing the expenditure in England on account of India. We are at present reaching almost the culminating point. The evils of the Home Charges are accumulating and accumulating till at last they are about to bring the Government and the people face to face with them. It has been noisily said these last ten years that exchange has been the sole disturbing factor of Indian finances, that unless the exchange difficulty is solved there can be no relief, and that the only way to obtain relief is to alter the currency. Gold is the metal of Europe. India's external trade is principally with the gold using countries. Therefore, gold should be adopted. It is forgotten that after all it is not the mere external trade, chiefly in the hands of foreigners, that has to be looked to. We have to look to the larger and more extensive internal trade, so closely

connected with the economic condition of the cultivator and the other producers who really are the backbone of the external trade (*Hear, hear*). Looked at from that point of view, the proposal for a gold currency falls to the ground. For consider how you may, you cannot help admitting, bearing in mind the poverty of the people and their immemorial habits and usages, the fact that gold can never become the currency. Silver alone is suitable and convenient. It is the natural currency. And therefore the natural alone should be adopted. For everything artificial and unnatural must sooner or later come to grief. The ryots and other producers have already grievously suffered by the artificiality; and it would be a greater crime than that of 26th June 1893 to propose a gold currency which nobody wants, save the selfish services and a few interested foreigners.

Now, let us examine this question of exchange which is said to be the *deus ex machina* of all troubles. What is this exchange? It is simply this. That by reason of a mistaken policy the Indian Government has incurred many a State obligation in gold while collecting all its revenue in silver. That it discharges railway interest and pensions to civil and military officers in gold, and that beyond these it purchases stores and other articles in England which have to be paid for in gold. That so far these "Home Charges," as the expenditure above referred to is called, are steadily growing. And with such growing expenditure exchange thereon grows apace. The sterling liabilities

—a portion of which it is notorious is unjustly foisted on India, as was made clear before the Welby Commission by both official and Indian unofficial witnesses—have steadily grown from 12½ millions, which was the average of the five years ending with 1876, to 17 millions or thereabouts. And no expenditure in recent times has grown faster than the military. It is the appalling growth of the military expenditure since 1885, when owing to the revival of the external policy of aggression under Lord Dufferin, there was an addition to the strength of the existing army by way of 10,000 European and 20,000 native troops, which has mainly to answer for the embarrassed finances, and next the repeated border expeditions which have entailed something like 12 crores within 12 years (*Hear, hear*).

But to come to the sterling obligations. Practically, these have increased to the extent of about 4½ millions while silver has been depreciating in its gold value since 1873. It has often been proclaimed from the platform of the Finance Minister in Calcutta that every million change of sterling correspondingly entails a greater loss in exchange, that every fall of a penny adds over a crore to the burden of that item. If this be the economic fact, was it wise on the part of the Government of India to have gone on adding to their sterling obligations from time to time, while silver measured by the value of gold was steadily declining? Commonsense would have suggested one of three alternatives; either a cessation of porrowing in sterling or no borrowing at all or

borrowing in silver. But, as a matter of fact, they have been burning the candle at both ends. At one end they are under one pretext or other increasing their sterling obligations entailing heavier "loss by exchange" so called; while at the other they are incurring heavier expenditure on account of border warfare, generally unprovoked and uncalled for. Is it possible that a country situated as India is, under a foreign domination which drains away a greater portion of its annual surplus of wealth, can withstand that burden yearly growing heavier? (*Hear, hear.*) But this is the situation. The cry that so many crores of rupees have now to be annually paid as the equivalent of the sterling liabilities in a depreciated silver currency, would never have been heard were it not for the policy which has entailed those obligations. Diminish these, and *pro tanto* so many less number of rupees will have to be paid for the equivalent; which is the same thing as to bring greater relief to the treasury. The cry, I repeat, must cease, with the greater diminution in the Home Charges. But it should not be forgotten here that all these Home Charges are paid in *produce*. Therefore, it has come to pass that with the increased burden of exchange, the producers of produce have to part with larger quantities which, however, have not brought to them any corresponding gain in their money value. The economic effect of these charges is that prices of the staple articles of exports have been lower. At any rate, the ryot has parted with

his larger produce at or about the same price that he did twenty years ago with a less quantity. We are now-a-days hearing too much of this cant of larger exports. But a little study of the question will at once tell you that those larger exports, for a debtor country like India, mean nothing short of larger sacrifice of the national wealth. (*Hear, hear*). And while such is the condition of the producers the Government have artificially raised the value of the rupee which, it is superfluous to say, adds not a little to their burden. Whether there is any corresponding gain is problematical. Yet this important question has hardly been investigated by the Currency Committee.

To return to the Home Charges. Those having reference to the military expenditure are very considerable indeed. Many of these charges have been protested against. I am quite convinced that if the burden on account of military expenditure alone was reduced, a material relief would be afforded and India would be able to pay its way without the wail of exchange. This military expenditure, as I have often observed on the Congress platform and elsewhere, is the consequence of the policy of external aggression pursued by the English Government since the acquisition of Quetta in 1876 and the date of the Second Afghan War. It is with a view to maintaining its supremacy in the East that England has, as the predominant partner in the matter of army expenditure under the fatal Amalgamation Scheme of 1859, imposed the most inequitable burdens on India. These burdens

have been inveighed against not only by this Congress and by the country at large but by the Government of India itself in more than one public despatch. They were recounted before the Welby Commission. One of the latest despatches submitted to that body observed as follows : "Millions of money have been spent on increasing the army in India on armaments and fortifications, to provide for the security of India, not against the domestic enemies or to prevent the incursions of the warlike people of adjoining countries, but to maintain the supremacy of British power in the East. The scope of all these great and costly measures reaches far beyond Indian limits and the policy which dictates them is an imperial policy. We claim, therefore, that in the maintenance of British forces in this country a just and even liberal view should be taken of the charges which should be legitimately made against Indian revenues." (*Hear, hear.*)

It will be thus seen that a part of the sterling obligations in England is unjustly foisted upon India while military expenditure grows apace regardless of India's ability and regardless of the economic conditions of the people. It is the combined pressure of these two burdens which has now proved too heavy to be borne ; and that the so-called "loss by exchange" is the tangible manifestation thereof. If owing to this exchange the Indian Government now cries aloud for an alteration in the currency, is it not strange for it to ignore the very root and origin of that exchange ? And if the root can be eradicated where may be the necessity

of change in the currency? But it is most astonishing to observe that the Indian Government should beat about the bush and attribute to silver all the faults which should properly be attributed to the *policy* which for years past is augmenting the sterling liabilities of which the most inequitable and oppressive is the military expenditure. Again to me it is most astonishing that not a single official or non-official witness has submitted to the Currency Committee this aspect of the present situation. Perhaps the only non-official witness who had a perception of it was Sir Forbes Adam, a gentleman of great liberalism, than whom very few understand better the real Indian view of this currency question. (Cheers.) He is a name to be conjured with. But even Sir Forbes was not able to bring clearly to the notice of the Committee this aspect of the currency to which I am now referring. The question was asked, if the currency was to remain undisturbed, how was the heavier loss by exchange, with the greater decline in the gold value of silver, to be met? To that, it is a matter of regret, no definite reply was made. Curtailment of the Home Charges, specially military, should have been the answer. It is true that nearly one-third of these are on account of interest on Guaranteed and State Railways. But there has been a culpable neglect in this particular liability. It was years ago, I think, somewhere about 20 years since, that Sir John Strachey, as Finance Minister, recommended that the railway liabilities should be commuted into silver. Had that been adopted the Indian Government might not have

been in the sorry plight that it is in to-day and might not have thought of tinkering or tampering with the currency. But that recommendation was pigeon-holed by the India Office, the vested interests being too powerful. As the time however for the purchase of the two remaining Guaranteed Railways is not very imminent, there is nothing to prevent the India Office from buying these companies off and issuing the necessary debentures for their purchase in silver, say at an annual interest of $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 per cent. payable in silver. It would be a fixed and certain liability. The relief which might be given to India by this one transaction alone would more than compensate for all the evils the country has suffered in the past. I admit that the vested interests will do their best to resist the suggested commutation. But if there be sufficient moral courage and statesmanship at the India Office the difficulties could be easily overcome. As to the interest on the sterling loans which now average about $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions, nothing need be said. The amount of interest is not so burdensome as the Home Charges of the Military Department which in recent years has mounted up to $3\frac{3}{4}$ millions. In fact, Ladies and Gentlemen, you will perceive from the figures I am just going to quote that, next to the interest on State and Guaranteed Railways, the heaviest burden of sterling obligations is on account of the Army Services in England. In 1896-97 the various obligations stood as under :

Railway Interest	... 5'80
Military Charges	... 3'68

Interest on Gold Loans 2'67

Civil Charges ... 2'28

The balance is made up of miscellaneous items. It will be thus seen that were there a curtailment of the military charges incurred at home and were there a fair and reasonable commutation of railway interest into silver, the difficulties of the Indian Government would at once be solved. Where there is a will there is a way. But so long as no effort is made on behalf of the Indian people, and so long as these vested interests are deliberately pampered and nursed, there can be no hope of any financial salvation, not even a gold currency may mitigate the growing burdens.

But I shall now specifically refer to these military charges which demand 33 millions and over of sterling remittances per year. In my supplementary evidence, in connection with the Welby Commission, I observed that the whole burden of exchange entailed on the Indian finances during the ten years ending 1895-96 was 43 crores of rupees or say 4'3 crores per year. Of this as much as 27 crores or 63 per cent was on account of military expenditure alone. The heavy sum might have been considerably less but for the fact of the addition made to the army in India in 1885. Had the strength of the army been maintained at the figure it was prior to that year, I estimated that the military exchange would have come to 12'85 crores in the decade. Practically then the increased exchange which India had to pay to in the ten years for the increased Army Services came to 14'52 crores in ten

years. Now, I would for a moment endeavour to fix your attention to the nett burden of new and enhanced taxation during the same period. In his rebutting evidence, given before the Commission on 21st July 1897, the late Mr. Jacob, whose premature death I and my other friends who were witnesses greatly deplore, and whose courtesy we all greatly appreciate, stated that taxation amounted to 23'31 crores. To this has to be added, as I pointed out, suspended famine grants and unrefunded provincial balances amounting to 5'41 crores. The total comes to 27'72 crores. Now, according to Mr. Jacob's own figures, the increased cost on account of the increased troops amounted to 33'94 crores in ten years *without exchange*. With exchange it came to 48'46 crores. Had there been no additional troops all this sum might have been saved against which as much as 27'72 crores of new taxation, &c., had to be raised. In fact while 48'46 crores might have been saved, the net expenditure of exchange, as just stated would have been no more than 28'75 crores. Practically, the result would have been a surplus of about 20 crores in the decade, despite the fact that civil charges had also greatly increased but some of which being of a reproductive character much complaint against their growth need not be made.

From the above facts it would be clear to you that India has in no way suffered on account of exchange because exchange would have been fairly met from the revenues without even a pie of taxation, had it not been principally for the additional military expenditure. Is it

impossible to curtail the strength of the army and bring it back to the number at which it stood in 1885? It would save the treasury about 3'89 crores without exchange or 5'34 with exchange. This, again, brings us to the practical part of the currency problem. I answer the question which the Committee put to some of the witnesses, including Sir Forbes Adam. The Committee inquired of these witnesses, how they would meet the extra charges which might have to be paid in case exchange went below one shilling, were the mints reopened. I say that these charges could be easily met by the curtailment of the military expenditure which now entails per annum a charge of 273 crores for exchange. If the army was reduced there would be a saving to the extent of 1'45 crores in exchange alone. The charges for Army Services Proper would, besides be less by at least 3 crores. Then, if England only contributes her fair share towards the cost of maintaining her supremacy there would be a still further saving. Of late we have heard that the Welby Commission may propose, such a share, amounting to $1\frac{1}{2}$ crore of rupees. But this is still a matter in the clouds till we know what the belated report of the Commission actually recommends. (*Hear, hear.*) Even then there is the British Treasury to deal with—a very rough and powerful obstruction. But the savings, which I have just referred to should easily suffice to meet the extra demand for greater loss by exchange which has long been held out as a bugbear before the ignorant public. On my part, I do not think that, were

the mints reopened to free coinage under proper safeguards and limitations, the Government would find any difficulty whatever in meeting the apprehended greater loss, without a pie of fresh taxation (*Hear, hear*). Aye not even if exchange went as low as 10 pence. But the fact nevertheless remains that it is the Home Charges which are at the root of the difficulty. Consequently the agitation should proceed, not for the reform of the currency, which has nothing the matter with it, but for the policy on the lines I have indicated. This practically means that the British Government should modify its present policy which regulates all expenditure. The economic evils of carrying on the administration by a costly foreign agency are entirely owing to the present mistaken policy. It is against this policy that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has been inveighing these many years. India is being drained to an extent unparalleled in the administration of any country in the world, ancient or modern. If the British-Indian administration itself is unparalleled, its bleeding of India too is unique. Cease that bleeding and India will revive. It will be soon in a position to accumulate the surplus wealth which is now drained to England, and have enough capital of its own to develop its material resources with great advantage both to England and India. As Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji truly observed at the meeting in Lancashire last month, the more India grows rich the more it will be in a position to extend its trade in Lancashire goods. Instead of its whole trade with the United Kingdom coming to only two shillings per head

it would come to twenty shillings. But the bleeding must cease before that happy event could be realised. It can only cease when the policy of the costly employment of the foreign agency in all its ramifications, administrative and commercial is reversed. The exchange difficulty, now so absurdly found fault with, would then cease to exist. India would breathe freely. The currency will operate automatically as it has hitherto done, and both the State and the people will be prosperous. At present not only the people but their industries and manufactures also are being throttled, and under a mistaken conception they are going to be throttled further by the insensate currency proposals !

It is to be devoutly wished that the Currency Committee will take evidence on all the points I have just referred to. The mass of evidence recorded up to date reveals absolutely nothing. And no one seems to have touched on these points, which alone in my opinion are most relevant to a correct *diagnosis* of the present complaint. Some witnesses have indirectly referred to the points, specially Sir Forbes Adam with his unique experience of the Indian people and the Indian economic question. I for one must admit that I am altogether disappointed with the whole evidence. It is mostly official or officialised. The independent evidence, if at all, is on the side of those who are for the reopening of the mints, though, in interested quarters, we have off and on been told, there is the strong belief that it is beyond all hope. That remains to be seen. Lord Rothschild believed in extended exports first and

extended railways afterwards. But when may we expect extended exports? Not while the exchange compels, under the present unnatural policy, the producers to part with their produce at low prices. Not while India continues to be a debtor country. The exports would be beneficial to India only when the unnatural economic condition ceases. It is therefore to be earnestly hoped that evidence of competent representative Indians will be taken by the Currency Committee in order to arrive at a correct understanding of the economic situation and be able to advise the Secretary of State as to which is the right and proper remedy to be adopted in the matter. (*Hear, hear.*)

If then, I repeat, the military expenditure was curtailed and brought down to the figures at which it stood in the time of Lord Northbrook and Lord Ripon, then I say with confidence, and without the least hesitation, that the entire financial situation would be materially altered for the better. India might pay its way without adding a pie to the existing taxation. Again, if the fire-works which are incessantly being let off at a heavy expenditure, which has averaged over one crore during the last 12 years, beyond the statutory limits of the country, were put a peremptory stop to, and if the many domestic reforms that have been hung up for many years past, as our friend Mr. Surendranath Bannerji observed yesterday, were taken on hand, India would really be in a condition of progress. And I may here take the opportunity to remind you, Ladies and Gentlemen, the Herschell Committee had strongly

recommended curtailment of expenditure as a first step before taking any action whatever with regard to the closure of the mints. So that in recommending curtailment of expenditure I am not recommending anything new. This curtailment can only follow a change in the present policy which is erroneous. When the policy is put on a sound and natural basis the aspect of expenditure will also be changed and changed for the better. The whole question therefore to be determined is not currency, but *policy*. We must agitate from year to year until the present policy undergoes a material modification. We must agitate till we drive home the truth so clear to us, that the unnatural system of administration is at the root of the financial difficulties and not currency. We should leave no stone unturned to bring the authorities to discern this aspect of the question, if indeed they are not already aware of it. During the 14 years that the Congress has successfully held its annual session, I have found that on almost all the burning questions of the day, the original views held by it, though at first ridiculed and discredited, have at last come to be recognised and acted upon. That experience tells me that in this matter also the position which the Congress will take up in the spirit of the resolution I have moved will eventually be proved to be absolutely sound. This is my firm conviction, and on the strength of that conviction I now commend the resolution to your judgment. (*Applause.*)



Sir T. Madhava Rao

RAJAH SIR T. MADHAVA RAO, K.C.S.I.

The late Mr. Fawcett, that great friend of India in the British House of Commons, called the hero of this biography "The Turgot of India"; and the fitness of this designation would become apparent to all who ask themselves what were the virtues of the Rajah which ensured his success in the States in which he was appointed to guide and elevate the people. He combined in a great degree a large desire for social advancement with a healthy knowledge of the conditions under which improvement can be effected. There is probably more of the element of caution and consciousness of present limitations in his writings and speeches than visions of future good. The man who is merely inflated by lofty dreams of social good is apt to become mischievous, empty and unpractical; and he who never raises his eyes from the dusty present is in equal danger of degenerating into a narrow pedant and uninspiring worker. It may be said that although the Rajah was not without his glimpses of the future good, he was alive to the actualities of the situation. There is also another cause that made the Rajah give vent to statements having the appearance of oracles, which

irritated aspiring minds as if hard and polished stones were thrown at them, instead of their being led into a position of strength by clear thinking and inspiring views. He was for many years in the service of the Government, and most of his labours were performed in backward Native States which were on the verge of dissolution and which he saved by his firmness and practicability. It was not possible for him in these circumstances, to rise to grand heights. He knew men too well, and, knowing them too well, it was not easy for him to say smooth flattering things to men who had not realized the weaknesses that were inherent in their own individual nature and in their social constitution.

As a social reformer, he was too cautious, and therefore could not please the furious zealot who hopes that society will be perfected by a mere pious wish. His contributions on social questions under the *nom de plume* of "A Native Thinker" were a stumbling block to the impetuous enthusiast. He seceded from the Standing Committee of the Congress because he did not approve of the scheme of reformed Legislative Councils which Madras had the honour of devising and which was adopted by the National Congress held at Bombay in 1889. We have no hesitation in saying that he was in this respect too timid to suit the temperament of even sober minds, and that he did not perceive that a people could be made fit for electoral representation by a sudden process but must be trained in it, even if mistakes are likely to be

committed in the process of education. He was elected as Chairman of the inaugural meeting of the third Indian National Congress held at Madras, and expressed views which were in accord with those of the delegates assembled. He hailed the advent of the Indian National Congress as "the soundest triumph of British administration and a crown of glory to the great British nation." He had not a very high opinion of representative government. The great experience of Europe has shown that representative government contains much good and much evil. In introducing it into India, therefore, responsible British statesmen have to exercise great care and caution that the good is produced and that the evil is excluded. In these circumstances it might be wrong to introduce that system into India at once, merely because the Congress asks for it. It is absolutely necessary to take measures gradually, and tentatively. It is on grounds like these that he opposed the scheme of the Madras Committee, and his attitude brought on him the vehement attacks of many of the sons of India who were inclined to resent as crabbed conservatism born of too long service in rotten Native States where the surgeon's knife was more often in requisition than gradual amelioration. He thought with naive simplicity that the people were like the patient and that the Government represented the doctor. This analogy is not at all true to the facts of history, and that he should build his advice to political agitators on the slender basis of a too superficial comparison shows how his mind was more in sympathy

with the bureaucratic government than with popular aspirations.

Madhava Rao was born at Kumbakonam, and belonged to a Mahratta Brahmin family that had migrated to the south in the days when the Mahratta Empire was being extended in all directions. He had the benefit of being born and bred up in a family of statesmen; his uncle Venkata Rao identified himself with the British cause and entered the service of the Travancore State and rose soon to the position of Dewan. His own father Ranga Rao also was in the service of the Travancore State and gained prominence by his official abilities. For six years Madhava Rao studied at the Government school at Madras under the eminent mathematician, Mr. E. B. Powell. He attained proficiency in mathematics, and his distinguished teacher exerted himself to make him act as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. In 1849 he got an appointment in the Accountant-General's Office at Madras and after a few years' service he went to Travancore to superintend education of the Princes of Travancore. So well did he acquit himself in his new sphere of work that in 1853 he was given an influential post in the revenue line. He gained the good wishes of the Maharajah by the "interest and integrity manifested by him in the capacity of a public servant" and was raised to the post of Dewan Peishkar. At the time of Madhava's entrance into the service of Travancore, the state of affairs was thoroughly intolerable and the chaos and protection

of maladministration that prevailed was brought to the notice of Lord Dalhousie, the "annexation-Viceroy" who held up the meance of annexation before the Maharajah if no improvement was made within the near future. The chief executive officers of the divisions of the State did not live in the centre of the sphere of official work, but resided in the capital and wasted away their time in intrigues against the Chief Dewan. He proposed to the Maharaja that the entire province should be divided into districts and that each district or group of districts should be placed under the control of a Dewan Peshkar, responsible to the Chief Dewan, for the due administration thereof. This suggestion met with the Maharajah's hearty concurrence and Madhava Rao was entrusted with the charge of the southern districts and within a short period he extricated his districts from all those embarrassments and corruptions which had brought disgrace upon the Travancore administration. In the words of the Political Officer, "within the short space of a year, Madhava Rao had called forth order out of disorder; had distributed justice between man and man, without fear or favour; had expelled dacoits; had raised the revenues; and his minutes and State papers showed the liberality, the soundness and the statesmanship of his views and principles. He had received the thanks of his sovereign; he had obtained the voluntary admiring testimony of some of the very missionaries who memorialized, to the excellence of his administration." In the year 1857 Dewan Krishna Rao died and Madhava Rao was chosen to

the high office of Dewan by the Maharajah, and entered upon the discharge of onerous duties when he was only thirty years of age, not an age generally remarkable for maturity of judgment and firmness of resolution.

The Travancore State then presented a spectacle which well would have shaken the courage of even the most experienced statesmen. But Madhava Rao undeterred by the frightful prospect of corruption, oppression, and imbecility that met his views, set about bringing the administration into line with the soundest principles of modern Government and political economy. The principles which guided the politicians in the Native States were in those days absolutely barren and savoured of uncontrolled despotism for the benefit of unscrupulous officials. Madhava Rao perceived that "it is in the gradual and judicious extension in the Native States of the general principles of government which are applied in British territory that their rulers will find the surest guarantee of their administrative independence and the best safeguard against intervention on the part of the paramount power." With a clear grasp of the moral principles of progressive Government, he felt that an entire change was needed to meet the requirements of the altered condition of things in Native States. We shall briefly record some of his victories in peace, victories no less brilliant than those of the commander in war.

The Brahman supremacy was exercised in a manner, thoroughly intolerable to the lower classes. Centuries of degradation had created in the *Shanar*

classes a habitual feeling of servility, but, with the touch of Western civilization, they had begun to resent the degrading restraints that were imposed upon them. And these restrictions led to serious riots between the Brahmans and the *Shanars*, when Madhava Rao went to the scene and had the leaders of the riots arrested and with the Maharajah's consent, he prohibited the Brahmans from any interference with the customs of *Shanars*.

The Maharajah died at this juncture, and in his successor on the gadi, Prince Ravi Varma, Madhava Row had a courageous supporter of his new policy. The fiscal system was in a hopelessly rotten condition. Many monopolies and burdensome taxes were gradually abolished. The monopoly of the paper trade was extinguished, and an export duty was imposed. The abolition of the tobacco monopoly next engaged his attention. In the place of the monopoly, he adopted a scale of importance which was high in the beginning but was reduced later on and thus the wisdom of his policy was proved by the growth of the import trade in tobacco. The many subordinate taxes which were vexatious and costly in collection but which yielded no great revenue to the State were abolished to the relief of the people. There was considerable reduction made in the land-tax in one district. A fresh impetus was given to both exports and imports by the more or less general abolition of duties on exports and imports consequent upon the commercial treaty between the British Government and Sirkars of Travancore and Cochin by

which goods imported from and through British territory were exempted from duties. The exports rose from three million and a half of rupees in value in 1861-1862 to seven millions and a quarter in 1868-1869. But the result of the adoption of this free trade policy was the increase in the salt duty which presses heavily on the people, salt being one of the prime necessities of life. The policy and interference of the British Government brought about an increase in the salt duty, and many critics of Madhava Rao blamed him for yielding to the dictation of the British Government and for not protecting the interests of the people committed to his charge. The Public Service next claimed his attention. The temptation to corruption was removed by raising salaries in the police and judicial services. The Public Works and Educational Departments were placed on a better scale. In spite of the heavy expenditure entailed by these new schemes, he managed to pay an enormous public debt. The State was saved from being plunged into the gulf of financial ruin. Madhava Rao was unable to curtail expenditure on the charities divided by the State for the feeding of Brahmans. There was nothing which he did not improve by his touch, and the solitary changes brought about in the general administration of Travancore were the highest results of the great genius of Madhava Rao.

In addition to the improvement in *morale*, of the Public Service Madhava Rao imparted efficiency which is at present regarded by many statesmen as the sole test of useful Government. The assimilation of the

methods of the administration of justice in Travancore to those prevalent in British India was brought about by extension of the provisions of the Civil Procedure Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, Law of Limitation, and the Registration Act. A judicial officer of great experience was imported to fill the post of Chief Justice, and able men were appointed as District Judges, and now there are twice the number of Munsiffs, each taluq being provided with one Civil Court.

The Travancore Sirkar did not put forward the claim to be the sole landlord. Half the lands in the State were owned by private individuals and the other half was let out to tenant farmers who were in those days subject to an ever-increasing rack rent. The consequence of this system was the precariousness of the position of the tenants and their unwillingness to cultivate the lands to the highest pitch of excellence of which they were capable. Madhava Rao did away with this mischievous lottery system and established a moderate assessment which secured to the tenants, possession for a definite number of years thereby affording them an inducement to take the greatest pains and to reserve to themselves the benefits of improved cultivation. The export of coffee and tea grew in volume and value, and the cultivation of cinchona received a stimulus. It is not a matter for surprise that all these varied activities tended to raise the land revenue and free the State from financial perplexities, consequent upon the abolition of the minor taxes which were so great a burden on the tax-payers.

The Public Works of Travancore, undertaken after the reorganization of the department, grew during Madhava Rao's *regime* in magnitude and importance. They added materially to the material prosperity of the State. Nor did his absorption in these measures leave the question of education untouched. Education owes to him still more. There was but one English school worth the name in the whole of Travancore, and as for vernacular schools there were none. Alive to the great importance of education, as exemplified in his own case, he strove ceaselessly to extend its benefits to Travancore. The old school was improved and a new Arts College was established to impart higher education. Other schools were also founded in the districts. Sensible that the enduring prosperity of a people must be based upon their enlightenment, he did not grudge the increasing sums that were required to meet the expenses of the new schemes for the expansion of education. Pure vernacular schools and girls' schools were also established. Madhava Rao's administration was directed "to provide for every subject, within a couple of hours' journey, the advantages of a doctor, schoolmaster, a judge, a magistrate, a registering officer and a post-master." His period of Dewanship was marked by such a brilliant scheme of works of public utility and administrative efficiency and by such moral rectitude that he might well have felt proud of himself when he received his knighthood. His resignation took place a few months later, and the Maharajah.

in recognition of his varied services bestowed on him a pension of a thousand rupees per month. He was not allowed to wear the laurels that he had won without being induced to exchange leisure for active work. The Government of India offered him a seat in the Supreme Legislative Council which he did not accept, the reason being evidently that the passive work of a legislature did not suit the vast energies of one who had undertaken and accomplished works requiring more than mere deliberative abilities. Maharajah Tukoji Rao Holkar of Indore came, as it were, to relieve him of the tedium of inactivity, invited him to accept the Dewanship, and he resumed the reins of office in 1873. The State of Indore did not witness as many of his administrative marvels as Travancore, because he was not allowed a free hand, the Maharajah being too zealous a ruler to delegate his powers to a Dewan to be exercised according to his own discretion. But even Indore felt the benefits of his experience and vast abilities. Again while he was performing his duties, the offer came to him that he should go to England to give evidence before a committee on Indian Finance, and he again declined the honour.

About this time the State of Baroda was groaning under the accumulated miseries of despotism, unalloyed by a single trait of good behaviour or by good sense in the Maharajah Mulhar Rao. A commission of enquiry was appointed and the facts disclosed by the commission constituted such a tale of oppression, misrule, recklessness, and shameful immorality that the para-

mount power had no alternative but that of exposing the Maharajah; but it was wisely resolved that the State should not be annexed or placed under the rule of a British political official but entrusted to the care of a native statesman of proved worth and ability during the minority of the young Maharajah. Who was more fitted for the work than Madhava Rao who had already reformed the administration of Travancore and had left the State in a flourishing condition !

The prospect of evils to be remedied presented the same feature to Madhava Rao in Baroda as in Travancore. But he had to grapple with abuses of greater magnitude and of longer standing which had become almost chronic throughout. The advent of Madhava Rao into Baroda was not regarded with any partiality as being the agent of the English power. The frightful legacy of misrule that came into his hands would have daunted the boldest men but he, with his accustomed patience, sagacity and firmness, evolved order out of it all. The numerous competitors to the gadi were pacified by handsome donations and allowances. The hangers-on of the deposed Maharajah were conciliated in the same way without arousing their fury to intrigue against the new minister. The native officials of the ex-chief of Baroda were compelled to pay off their debts at least in part. The State Banks had been in a state of suspended animation and had been defrauded of their allowances during the previous regime, but with wonderful tact the new Dewan met all these complications and solved

them with complete success. There were other disputes against the old Maharajah, viz., those of the jewellers whom he had not paid for their jewels, those of the old retainers who had to be provided, those of private tutors whose claims had been improperly dealt with, all these and many others awaited delicate handling and Madhava Rao proved himself equal to the occasion and to the expectations that had been formed of him. It was with breathless suspense that we have to travel over the long road of triumph which was laid by him in a few years to the infinite credit of himself and the administrative capacities of the natives of India which have been so often denied or minimised.

With the caution that was so characteristic of his nature, he desisted from at once proceeding to introduce an elaborate and technical system of administration which would have roused the suspicions of a simple people, accustomed to more intelligible methods. Peace and order was restored. Taxation was considerably lightened and withal made to yield a surplus for the use of less prosperous years. The Police was reformed. The administration of justice received particular attention. He granted liberal allowances for education, for medical services, and for the construction of works of great usefulness. The finances of the State were in a hopelessly muddled condition. The system of letting the lands to the highest bidders led to the usual growth of evils, and the condition of the exchequer can be best described in the scathing language of Burke. "It was an exchequer wherein extortion.

was the assessor, fraud the cashier, confusion the accountant, concealment the reporter and oblivion the remembrancer." He simplified the land-revenue by the substitution of the ryotwari system, he made it final for a fairly long period of time. The expenditure was also fixed between certain limits, and a surplus was made available for any emergencies that might arise. The daring feats of administrative valour which he accomplished in Baroda, are written large in every page of the present history of Baroda, which owes its unrivalled pre-eminence among the States of India to the colossal genius of Madhava Rao, and to the commanding personality of the present Maharajah trained under his able guidance and auspices. We cannot better set forth the Herculean labours of Madhava Rao than in his own words. "It would be false modesty to disguise the fact that during these five years, our work has been exceedingly heavy and trying, for the fact accounts for our visible delays and deficiencies. It is not simply that we have had to carry on ordinary current business. We have had to investigate and decide a multitude of matters inherited by us, which in number and complexity are probably unsurpassed in any other Native State. We have had to organize the machinery of Government. We have had carefully to consider and carry out reforms. We have had to bring under control a vast expenditure in all its dark and intricate ramifications. We have had to rectify our relations with our numerous and diversified neighbours. In this respect, grave and embarrassing aberrations

from sound principles, had, in course of time and neglect, sprung up, and then correction presented peculiar difficulties. We have had to bring them to the notice of the authorities concerned, to explain, to discuss, to convene and sometimes to respectfully expostulate. The extra strain thus caused has, however, begun now sensibly to diminish, and it is therefore hoped that we shall be increasingly enabled to devote our time and energies to the development of external improvements. It must be frankly admitted that there is still abundant scope for our development in this direction. All that we claim to have done is that we have fulfilled the primary obligations of a civilized government."

Some of the critics of Madhava Rao's administration at Baroda have not hesitated to declare that he yielded without protest, whenever the Imperial Government thought fit to interfere; and that he was not strong enough to resist the demands of the supreme power; and that his solicitude for the well-being of the State was only subservient to his regard of the official point of views. This criticism does not take due regard of the fact that Madhava Rao was not a minister of an independent State but of a Feudatory State dependent for its very existence upon the good-will of the paramount power. It is a mere ignorance of facts to assert that Madhava Rao did not protest against improper claims by the British Government, but he, with his usual practical temper of mind, knew that he ought to protest emphatically against suggested innovations

prejudicial to the interests of the State, but he also knew when he ought not to urge his position any further without losing even the chance of a compromise which would do at least some measure of justice. Of course to the closet statesman merely reviewing the life of a practical statesman, Madhava Rao might appear as too yielding and timid, but the practical exigencies of affairs override considerations of mere abstract justice. Madhava Rao was not such an example of administrative unwisdom as to refuse the half bread because he could not get the whole bread. The interference of the British Government with the opium, the salt and other concerns of the Baroda State met with many vigorous and statesmanlike protests from Madhava Rao, but the superior position carried the day, and he submitted with good grace. Men cannot do full justice to the vast genius, consummate tact, immense patience, wise sobriety of thought, of Madhava Rao. It is a matter of great pride to every one in India that even in these days, when the field for the display of administrative capacity is restricted to the ambition of even the most capable Indian, a man like Madhava Rao could be born and raise the reputation of the Indian name to the loftiest height. It is also a matter of sorrow that men like him cannot aspire to anything higher than work in a Native State; and that they cannot shape the destinies of the Empire and read their history in a nation's eye. The study of his life affords hope that India need not yield to despondency, and that the latent vigour of her sons is yet inexhaustible.

and that it only needs the touch of new opportunities to disclose deeper mines of political knowledge and wisdom.

Sir Madhava Rao left the Baroda service in 1882 and lived in Madras where he died at the age of sixty-three on the 5th April. To the young men of this generation his name is only a memory, but they can read in his life those qualities of intellect and temperament which eminently qualify one to take a leading part in public deliberations. The union of a massive intellect and shrewd practical sagacity, of vast knowledge and remarkable wisdom, of high ideals of work and moderation of expression, all these and many other attributes present a striking picture, the like of which is hard to recognize at present among the Dewans of the present day. May we learn the lessons of his life and lay them to heart for the up-building of our country and political advancement of her many millions in the sphere of self-government.

LORD RIPON'S RULE IN INDIA

(Speech delivered in opening the proceedings of a public meeting held in Madras on the 10th November, 1884, on the retirement of Lord Ripon.)

Friends and fellow-countrymen,—We all know that India presents to intelligent contemplation the most splendid theatre ever offered for the exercise to political justice and political benevolence of the highest order. Lord Ripon is now about to retire from that great theatre, after having played there a conspicuous and memorable part for four years and a half. (Cheers.) He will be remembered through the length and breadth of this vast Empire, for the lofty conception of his duty to his subject millions, for the firmness with which he performed his duty, and for the patience and courage with which he withstood his opposition and the obloquy which too often attend greatness in this imperfect world. (Cheers.) History will note with admiration how this British statesman from cold northern latitudes has won the entire confidence of three hundred millions of keen and critical Orientals. Every one of these has invincible belief in the rectitude of his intentions and the purity of his motives. Every one has felt assured that the great interests of India could not

have been committed to safer custody. (Cheers.) A vast and diversified community has shared the common conviction that no party or political temptations, however strong, could ever seclude him from his lofty ideal justice. He is universally regarded, he is almost idealized, as the embodiment of the highest and purest political virtues. His popularity is so great that a word from him can accomplish more than an army of a hundred thousand bayonets. (Cheers.) One great cause of this immense popularity is that his rule has been dominated by a genuine sympathy for the native population. (Cheers.) His rule has not been of that cast-iron type—dry, rigid, and inelastic—which is so inconsiderately advocated by those who insist upon the rights of conquest. He has felt a personal interest in the welfare of the great masses. (Cheers.) Another cause of that extraordinary popularity is the simple grandeur of his character and policy. There is no cunning in it, no dissimulation—not the slightest thing of duplicity—no mystery whatever. Everything has been massive and manly—nothing spurious or meretricious. He has been frank and open. He has desired every publicity to be given to the objects and reasons of his measures. He has always manifested a sincere solicitude to obtain a knowledge of the view and feelings of those whom his measures affected, and has given them every due consideration. (Cheers.) There is something in the composition of Lord Ripon, in special harmony with the broad and benevolent principles of the great Proclamation of the Queen issued to India in 1858. He

has proved himself the fittest agent to give effect to these principles. Happy, indeed, would India be if the British Cabinet could select a succession of such agents to direct her destinies in the spirit of that great charter. (Cheers.) Lord Ripon's most humane and beneficial career has often reminded me of some eloquent passages in the celebrated speeches of Edmund Burke. As they are worth hearing, I beg to quote them. He speaks of the memorable year which introduced British supremacy into this important part of Asia at a time when the indigenous governments had been broken up, when darkness and confusion covered the land; and he laments that that supremacy was not then attended with those blessings which might have been expected from the greatest and most enlightened nation of the period. He says, when addressing the House of Lords, "My Lords, to obtain an empire is common, to govern it well has been rare indeed. Hitherto we have not furnished our contingent to the records of honour. We have been confounded with the hordes of conquerors. Our dominion has been a vulgar thing; but we began to emerge. The year 1756 is a memorable year in the history of the world. It introduced a new nation from the remotest verge of the western world, with new manners, new customs, new institutions, new opinions, new laws into the heart of Asia. If, at that moment, when it had fallen into darkness and confusion, if, in that gloomy season, a star had risen from the west, that would prognosticate a better generation, and would shed down

the sweet influence of order, peace, science and security to natives of that vexed and harrassed country we would have been covered with genuine honour. It would have been a beautiful and noble spectacle to mankind." If the great orator could rise from his grave and make himself acquainted with the history and effects of Lord Ripon's rule he would heartily exclaim :—"This is what I had wished for India at the hands of England." (Cheers.) In assembling here to-day to do honour to such a statesman, we are eminently honouring ourselves. To honour our great benefactor, and to offer him the tribute of our gratitude, is a deep-rooted instinct of our nature ; let us heartily obey that instinct. It would be superfluous for me to say more to commend the object of this meeting to your favourable consideration. (Cheers.)

THIRD INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

(Rajah Sir T. Madhava Rao delivered the following address as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 3rd Indian National Congress held at Madras in 1887.)

Gentlemen,—The language of genuine pleasure is short. I am delighted to meet so many of my countrymen from so many parts of this extensive empire. (Applause.) The Congress, every one must now see, is a great success. In fact, it seems every time it meets, to outgrow its originally contemplated dimensions. My duty now is to offer a cordial welcome to the

delegates assembled before me. (*Loud applause.*) It is a pleasant and a very agreeable duty and I consider it a privilege—a great privilege—which has been conferred upon me by my colleagues, at the Madras Congress Reception Committee, who have asked me to offer to you all, the warmest of welcomes. (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen, on behalf of the Congress Reception Committee, and on behalf of the citizens of Madras, I welcome you from the bottom of my heart.

Gentlemen, it is a matter of sincere congratulation that this city has been chosen for the meeting of the Congress this year : you may well imagine that Madras ardently coveted the honour, which the sister cities of Bombay and Calcutta have always enjoyed. (*Applause.*)

Many of you have come down from many distant parts of the empire. We hope that your stay here will be comfortable, pleasant and interesting, and that when you have returned home, you will retain a kindly remembrance of your brethren in this far off part of India. (*Applause.*) It may be that we cannot compete with our Bombay brethren in the kindly care and the generous hospitality with which, gentlemen from this part of the country were received at the first Congress. It may also be that we must despair of being able to imitate the princely character of the reception, which was accorded to those that attended the second Congress in the 'City of Palaces.' (*Applause.*) But if you are prepared to take the will for the deed,—as I trust you are,—you may

rest assured, that we gather you to our bosom with hearts as sympathetic as they are proud. (*Loud cheers.*)

That we should rejoice with pride to receive you and that you should kindly consent to be our honored guests is, gentlemen, I think, quite natural, when we take into account the forces which have been at work among us, and the environment with which we have been surrounded by the wisdom, justice, and generosity of the British nation. (*Applause.*) Contact with such a nation is like the contact of iron with the magnet. It has the inevitable effect of the nation operated upon being, by insensible degrees, assimilated to the dominant type. Let cavillers at this view show me the people who having been taught the lesson of liberty and enlightened statesmanship, did not, in due time, thirst for the blessings of freedom and good government. (*Hear, hear.*) Let them show me the community which having been brought within the sphere of liberal education did not wish and strive to secure a status consistent with such culture, and necessitated by such discipline. Let them show me the land which is covered with a net-work of railways, spanned by telegraphic lines, and studded over with post-offices, but which is not characterised by the dropping off, like autumn leaves, of local prejudices and home-bred idiosyncracies. (*Hear, hear.*) Such a people and such a land can exist only in the revellings of a wild imagination,—at any rate cannot bring myself that they could exist within the pale of that empire, which has been

beautifully described as the empire on which the sun never sets. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) To a multitude of factors, such as these, the Indian community has been subjected, for over four score years; and who can wonder that local differences are getting effaced, and that there is among us an earnest desire to recognise original identity of type and undoubted community of interests to fraternise and unite. Thus then, it seems to me nothing strange, nothing phenomenal, that I should witness before me, in a vast and most influential assembly, the union of cultivated intelligence and patriotic ardour and the confluence (so to speak) of many different streams of thought and of feeling. I see before me representatives from all parts of India, whose very personal appearance will bring home to the mind of the unprejudiced observer the conviction that, varied as are the castes and creeds and races of India, there is still a powerful bond of union, which makes our hearts vibrate with sympathy and mutual love and a common affection for our mother-country. (*Loud and continued applause.*) To well-balanced minds, such a gathering must appear the soundest triumph of British administration and a crown of glory to the great British nation. (*Great applause.*)

Gentlemen, let us not mind too much, or too little what unfriendly or rather mistaken critics may say against us.

Let us stand firm in our conviction that those gatherings are useful and desirable for a multitude of reasons. Let our single aim be to justify ourselves by invariable

Loyalty, good sense, and moderation in our thoughts, words and deed. These great qualities we have not to acquire *afresh*. Innumerable antecedent generations have happily bequeathed them to us. Let us retain this inheritance and trustfully place ourselves under the guidance of the great nation, and the great Government, which are providentially in charge of our destinies, and our future will be as satisfactory as it can possibly be.

Now that a splendid empire has been constructed, completed, and consolidated, now that unbroken peace and order have been established beyond the dreams of Asiatic philosophy, this Congress represents that very factor which is necessary for the further development of India. (*Applause.*)

From all that I have known of Englishmen, during half a century of intimate intercourse with the best of them, I have no hesitation in assuring you that your well-meant offer will not be superciliously rejected. (*Hear, hear.*)

Henceforth, let us, therefore, invariably act on the principle that the various populations of this extensive empire are bound together by a common Government, by common interests and by mutual sympathies (*Applause.*)

Judged most unsparingly, the worst features of gatherings of this description might be superabundance of enthusiasm and youthful impetuosity. But as a great thinker has said, men learn to run before they learn to walk : they stagger and stumble before they acquire a steady use of their limbs. What is thus true of

individuals is equally true of nations ; and it is uncharitable to form a forecast of the future from the failings and weaknesses, if any such *should* exist, incidental to a nascent stake. The sentiments appropriate to such a condition of things are sympathy and kindly direction. An attitude of antagonism or of scorn only causes irritation and soreness : and it rouses, not unfrequently, a spirit of recrimination, if not also of answering disdain. This is almost a law of nature. I will, therefore, ask our critics to remember the early history of nations, and to judge in a spirit of charity and magnanimity.

When I ask this of our censors, permit me to advise you to be moderate and forbearing. It is the nature of vaulting ambition to overleap itself. It is the character of renovated youth to be carried away by excessive zeal. Steer clear of such shoals and quicksands. Discuss without prejudice ; judge without bias and submit your proposals with the diffidence that must necessarily mark suggestions that are tentative in their character. Much irritation and retaliation will be avoided if the mutual dependence of the rulers and the ruled is steadily kept in view. With the ruled, it must be a postulate that rulers err from ignorance, and in spite of their efforts to avoid mistakes. By the rulers it must be taken for granted, that when subjects petition and expostulate it is not in a spirit of disputation or cavilling, much less of disaffection and disloyalty—(*Hear, hear*)—but only to enlighten those holding sway over them, and, in a

peaceful and constitutional manner, to have their wishes understood and their grievances made known. I entreat you to lay to heart these words of caution to all parties concerned—words which I ask you to accept out of regard for my long experience (*applause*) for my age (*applause*) and for my earnest desire to see my countrymen prosperous and happy.

Gentlemen, there are amongst you many men of distinguished attainments, of high culture, liberal views, sound judgment and sincere patriotism. The infirmities of age prevent me from enjoying the honor and discharging the duty of taking an active part in the discussions that you will enter upon. (*Hear, hear*). Let me, therefore, call upon you to elect from among the multitude of wise and learned and earnest men, that I see around me, a President whose lead you may follow with perfect confidence, and whose force of character and sincere interest in the true well-being of the country, will lead to your deliberations being directed into such paths, and confined within such limits, as will secure to your conclusions the regard and attentive consideration of all right-minded men. I welcome you once again with a heart overflowing with joy and pride, and wish you "God-speed" in your generous and noble efforts to elevate the political and social condition of our common motherland. (*Loud and continued applause.*) Proceed then to elect a President: and may the Almighty Disposer of all things grant you that success which you so richly deserve. (*Loud applause.*)



Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar

RAO BAHADUR R. N. MUDHOLKAR

Rao Bahadur Ranganath Narsingh Mudholkar was born at Dhulia in the Deccan on the 16th May 1857. His father Narasing Rao Krishna was then Record-Keeper of the District Judge's Court, Khandesh. His grandfather too had served as Mamlatdar in Khandesh. In the days of the Maharatta Empire Mr. Mudholkar's ancestors held the Vakilship of the Mudhol State at the Darbar of the Peshwas. The original home of the family was in the Southern Maharatta country.

Mr. Mudholkar received his early education at Dhulia, and for a short time at Erandol, which is in the same district of Khandesh, when his father was Sub-Registrar of that place. The reading he was fond of was story books and history, the history of the Maharattas in particular. At the age of 10 he was taken by his eldest brother Mr. Balwant Rao to Berar, where he held service in the Educational Department first as Headmaster and then as Deputy Educational Inspector. His English education began there. After three years spent in Berar, young Mudholkar was sent to Dhulia to study in the High School there. He had to give up study for one year on account of serious illness. All the same he was a bright boy almost throughout his.

whole school course and won prizes for standing first in the examinations. He passed the Matriculation Examination in 1873 from the Dhulia High School. The next year he joined the Elphinstone College in Bombay. He passed F. A. Examination in 1875, standing pretty high in the list of successful candidates. He lost one year in the B. A. Class again, owing to illness. He was regarded as one of the bright boys of his time and soon won the good opinion of Principal Wordsworth. In the Scholarship Examination of 1877 he stood first in the list. He also got the prize in the competition for the Ganpat rao Kibe Prize Essay. He passed the B. A. Degree Examination the same year and again stood high among the successful candidates. He however failed to win either of the two prizes for which he was trying having got a few marks less than the winner his friend and rival Mr. Dayaram Gidumal at present District and Sessions Judge of Ahmedabad. Among his other contemporaries at College were such men as Mr. (now the Hon'ble Mr. Justice) N. G. Chandavarkar, Mr. Vishun Krishna Bhatwadekar, Dewan Bahadur V. M. Samartha, Dewan Bahadur R. V. Sabnis, Mr. Vasudev Gopal Bhandarkar, and Mr. G. S. Khaparde. Principal Wordsworth remarked of him a couple of years after he took his degree, "he early attracted my attention and the expectations which I then formed of him have been fully realised. I have a very high opinion of his intellectual and moral attainments and personally a very sincere regard for him." Soon after

he passed his B. A., he was appointed fellow of the Elphinstone College, and was teaching History, Logic and Political Economy. He passed his LL. B. Examination in 1886. The High Court Appellate Side Bar in Bombay was even then considerably crowded and Berar in which his family had now become permanent residents afforded greater scope for an energetic young man and he decided to throw in his lot there. He and his brother-in-law (the late Mr. B. A. Divekar) were the first LL. B's. who settled to practise in Berar.

He commenced practice in 1881 at Akola and was almost immediately a success at the Bar, having attained within one year a position second only to that of Mr. (now Rao Bahadur) Dcorao Vinayak who was then leader. He shifted to Amraoti in 1882 when the Court of the Judicial Commissioner was removed there. And throughout this full period of over quarter of a century he has enjoyed a most lucrative practice being almost all the time at the top of the Bar.

Almost from the commencement of his career he has thrown himself actively into the public life of his province and his country. And it may be mentioned as a remarkable circumstance that even in those early days when men's attention was given rather exclusively to politics, Mr. Mudholkar was busying himself in matters of industrial development and social reform equally with political affairs. It may be true of many of our public men that their interest in matters industrial is of recent growth; but the reproach could never be levelled

at Mr. Mudholkar that he took a narrow or one-sided view of national life. In fact his very first public act in Berar was the establishment, in co-operation with some friends, of the Berar Trading Company, Ltd. He himself acted as its secretary after its start and the foundations of the prosperity which the Company has enjoyed these 27 years may be said to have been laid by Mr. Mudholkar. The Berar Trading Company was the first of its kind in that part of the country; its success has led to the opening of several similar concerns.

The creation of a healthy public opinion on political among other questions engaged Mr. Mudholkar's attention and he felt the necessity for a vigorous and well conducted paper in which public questions would be discussed with informed zeal, restrained enthusiasm and a fearlessness not dissociated from sobriety or respect for authority. The result was the starting of the *Vaidarbha* newspaper which, for over sixteen years, had rendered useful service to the community. It is a pity that circumstances over which the founders of the paper had no control led to the closing of the *Vaidarbha*. During the years of its existence Mr. Mudholkar contributed the larger number of English articles that appeared in it.

In 1885 he took part in the establishment of the Dufferin Fund in Berar and became one of its first life-members.

Berar which came under British management in 1853 and was governed under a system in which all powers

were centred in the District officer, the Commissioner and the Resident afforded little scope for liberal thought or free institutions. But the class of educated men who were rising in numbers, position and influence in the province were naturally anxious to bring its public life on a level with that of the Bombay Presidency with which most of them were connected by various ties. The idea was not confined to one person but to Mr. Mudholkar truly belongs the credit of being the most keen and persevering in the matter.

He was mainly instrumental in the establishment of the Berar Sarwajanik Sabha in the year 1886 and was its Secretray till 1898 along with Mr. M. V. Joshi, the well known lawyer, patriot and reformer of Berar. Most of the representations on important public questions submitted by the Sabha to Government were drawn up by Mr. Mudholkar. Among these may be mentioned as specially noteworthy the memorials on the separation of the judicial and executive function in Berar, revision survey and resettlement, agricultural indebtedness and land alienation and the propriety of extending the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act to the rest of India. His personal opinion has always been invited these ten years and more on every legislative measure of importance which came before the Government.

Believing in the importance of developing local institutions and obtaining the redress of local grievances as best calculated to train the general public in administrative matters and in politics he threw himself

in Municipal and Provincial work. For eighteen years he served on the Amraoti City Municipality, and has been always foremost in the discussion of provincial questions in the public press and in representations to Government.

Of all the questions which have arisen in Berar during the last thirty years there is none which has roused greater popular interest than the question of revision survey and resettlement of the land revenue demand which was taken up in the early nineties. In conformity with the traditions of the Bombay Survey and Settlement Department, proposals for very high enhancement were made by the officer in charge of the Berar revision survey. Vigorous protest and well-informed, critical and sound examination were, it was felt, urgently demanded. Meetings attended by thousands were held in 1891 and 1892 which were addressed by Mr. Mudholkar and Mr. Joshi. They knew, however, that the only possibility of obtaining modification in regard to the proposed enhancement was to demonstrate the inaccuracy of the promises and the incorrectness of the reasoning on which those proposals were based. And this was done in a masterly document extending over several sheets of printed matter. It was drawn up by Mr. Mudholkar. The Government of India did partially modify the proposals of the survey officer and the local authority.

One of the great questions of internal politics which occupied the attention of the Government in the nineties was the question of agricultural indebtedness.

The Berar Sarvajanik Sabha was asked to give its opinion of the Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the working of the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act and sometime later on the note prepared in the Home Department of the Government of India on agricultural indebtedness and land transfer. The Sabha's opinion on the second subject occupies some eighty pages of foolscap. It was drawn up by Mr. Mudholkar. Considerable study of Blue Books and official reports was needed and this was cheerfully undertaken. His position in this matter differs essentially from that generally taken by the capitalist classes and their supporters. The expropriation of the cultivating classes by the money-lending and professional classes is regarded by him as a serious economic, political and social danger, and while disapproving of the particular measures proposed, he very strongly holds that suitable action for keeping a peasant proprietary class on the land is urgently demanded. He believes more in education, a beneficent land revenue policy and an adequate supply of cheap capital than in restrictive legislation.

There is no Legislative Council for Berar, but it was the practice of the administration to constitute small committees to which measures proposed to be enacted into law were referred. Mr. Mudholkar was invariably placed on these committees. Laws for Berar are made by Order in Council of the Governor-General of British India in exercise of the powers given by the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, Berar not being regarded as

an integral part of British India though for all practical purposes except legislation it is treated as such.

It was mainly by Mr. Mudholkar's effort that the anomaly of legislation being made by the Executive Council instead of by the legislative Council as for the rest of the country was brought to the forefront. He has been instrumental in raising the question more than once by means of representations to the constituted authorities and of resolutions at the Congress and the Central Provinces and Berar Provincial Conferences. He has drawn up an elaborate note in which the legality of the whole procedure is shown to be open to serious question. It is stated that it is engaging the consideration of the Secretary of State. It is an open secret that he has been more than once recommended by the Chief Commissioner for nomination as a member of the Supreme Legislative Council to represent the Central Provinces, but that as Berar is not British India and a constituent part of the Central Provinces proper, the Government of India felt unable to accept the recommendation of the local administration. It is to be hoped that the matter will be satisfactorily settled in connection with the introduction of the constitutional reforms now pending and that his countrymen will not be deprived of his services in the Supreme Council (He now enjoys that honour).

Mr. Mudholkar joined the Indian National Congress in 1888 when its fourth session was held at Allahabad under the presidency of the late ever to be lamented Mr. George Yule. He at once became a prominent

member of this great national assembly and has ever since been one of its unceasing and most indefatigable workers. The only Session of the Congress from which he was absent after that year was the eighteenth one held at Ahmedabad in 1902, and this was owing to a great domestic misfortune, the serious illness and death of his eldest daughter, his only child by his first wife. At every other session of the Congress he has been one of the principal speakers and his speeches on such varied subjects as agricultural indebtedness and land alienation, land settlement and land revenue administration, the economic condition of the people and the finances of the Government, technical education and industrial development, the separation of judicial from executive functions and the powers of the police and the Magistracy, the reform of the Legislative Councils and the reconstitution of the Universities. Sedition Law and the partition of Bengal, will repay perusal as being utterances marked by knowledge, sobriety and a sense of responsibility. Mr. Mudholkar was one of the Congress delegates to England in 1890, and along with his colleagues Babu Surendranath Banerjea and Mr. Earley Norton did his best to bring about the reform of 1892. He, acting with his fellow Congressmen of Berar invited the Congress to Amraoti in 1897 and laboured hard and devotedly as its Secretary to make it the great success it was in that most difficult of years. Amraoti is the only town in the whole country of its size population and importance to have dared to hold the Congress. If it did so the credit belongs to no small extent to Mr. Mudholkar.

That Congress was held at a time when the murder of Rand and Ayerest had exasperated the Anglo-Indian community and the prosecution and conviction of Mr. Tilak had produced excitement among the Indians. The rigid enforcement of a most drastic plague policy was another danger which threatened the holding of the Congress meeting in Berar. Several representations had to be made to the local Government and the provincial authorities, executive and sanitary, frequent interviews had to be made to remove the objections raised to allow persons coming from or even passing through the plague affected tracts to enter Berar. The situation threw on Mr. Mudholkar and other Berar leaders, unprecedentedly heavy burden. The utmost patience, tact, and conciliation had to be put under requisition to smooth the official opposition without sacrificing principles or yielding any important point.

The failure of the rains in 1896 which brought about a severe famine in the Central Provinces, Northern India and the Deccan produced in Berar also great scarcity and high prices. The influx of people from the affected tracts increased the distress. To do something for the poor, steps were taken by the Amraoti leaders. Selling grain at rates below the market rates and establishing a kitchen for the very poor unable to work, were resolved. The project was initiated by Mr. Mudholkar and Mr. M. V. Joshi and other non-officials and the Commissioner and other European officers heartily accepted it. The Mudholkar brothers and the Joshis—father and son—were the chief

organisers and workers. In March 1897 a branch of the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund was started in Berar and Mr. Mudholkar and another Indian gentlemen were appointed secretaries. This heavy responsibility was undertaken in full knowledge of the fact that the main burden of making arrangements for the Congress lay on his shoulders. The Berar Committee's work was conducted on a scale and with a thoroughness which was acknowledged by Government. In 1898 the title of Rao Bahadur was conferred in recognition of his work. In 1899-1900 came the greatest famine known to India in modern times when even Gujerat and Berar tracts, which had not known famine for over a century, were smitten hard. On this occasion also Mr. Mudholkar was to the forefront and was again Secretary of the Famine Fund.

The question of framing a constitution for the Congress was pressed upon the attention of that body from 1887 and in 1894 and 1895 even some drafts were prepared. But no scheme was found sufficiently acceptable to even a portion of the delegates and no advance was made. At the Congress of 1898 a sub-committee was appointed with Mr. Mudholkar as secretary to prepare a workable scheme. He set to work almost immediately, prepared a draft, circulated to his colleagues, dunned them till they gave a reply and when the Congress met at Lucknow in December 1899 there was drawn up a set of rules which with a few verbal alterations was accepted by the Congress.

On the demise of Her late Majesty Queen Empress

Victoria, a movement was started in Berar as elsewhere to raise a suitable memorial to her. Mr. Mudholkar was first informally consulted and he expressed his readiness to work for it provided it was given the shape of technical or industrial schools. The leading officials and non-officials were agreed on the point and thus was originated the work which has just arrived at fruition. It was not all smooth sailing however. When the attitude of Lord Curzon against the idea of the Queen's All-India Memorial taking the form of an institution for scientific and technical instruction was made known, a very high officer in that province openly expressed his disbelief in the project resolved upon in Berar. Fortunately his departure soon after removed a chilling influence and the old Berar officials being firm in their loyalty to the scheme it was left intact. About a lac and twenty five thousand were realised from which after giving ten thousand to the All-India Memorial a balance of one lac and fifteen thousand remained. The preparation of a scheme, sufficiently comprehensive and at the same time within the means of a small province required great thought and deliberation and generous help from Government was from the first recognised as a *sine qua non*. By the time the committee was able to devise a suitable and practicable scheme Berar was transferred to the Central Provinces. The Chief Commissioner of that territory then was Mr. (now Sir) J. Hewett, a true friend of India's industrial development. He promised very liberal help from Government. Mr. Mudholkar went to Bombay and Poona to

consult Principal Monie and Dr. Thomson and to personally see what was being done there and how. A scheme was drawn up for the establishment of a Technical Institute for Mechanical Engineering and kindred subjects. But there was to be one more check from the Curzonian Secretariat which for some months made the man who had devoted his days, weeks and months to the scheme pass restless and anxious days and nights. Fortunately Mr. J. Hewett had by that time become Member for Industry and Commerce and Sir Frederick Lely who had succeeded him as Chief Commissioner was a good friend of industrial development and he strongly supported the Berar Committee's protest and again sent up their project making only a small alteration to soothe the vanity of the Simla Secretariat. It was sanctioned. Government gave Rs. 30,000 as a contribution to the initial expenditure and has sanctioned an yearly grant up to Rs. 11,300 for maintenance expenditure and Rs. 1,300 from Municipalities. Building and workshops are completed and machinery is ordered. Mr. Mudholkar feels a parent's love for this institution. One of the reasons why he did not move to Nagpur after the old Berar Judicial Commissioner's Court was abolished was that he wished to see this institution in full and satisfactory working order before he would take rest or shift anywhere.

The grand effort made in 1891 to hold the Congress seemed to have exhausted all public life of the Central Provinces and for thirteen years there was no public

activity even at Nagpur, the capital of the province. When the Congress was held in Berar in 1897 it was hoped that the Central Provinces would actively co-operate with the neighbour. This however was not done and the leaders of Berar had to make repeated appeals to the leading men of Nagpur to rouse them to action. At last in 1905 the First C. P. and Berar Provincial Conference was held at Nagpur in April. This was followed by two sessions. Mr. Mudholkar presided over the Third C. P. and Berar Provincial Conference held at Raipur in 1907. Along with the political conferences, were held the Provincial Industrial Conferences, Mr. Mudholkar presided over the sessions of 1905 and 1906.

His presidential addresses at Raipur and Jubbulpore and his papers on "The Economic Condition of the Indian People" and "Education and Industrial Development" show his grasp of political and industrial questions. He is as keen about social reform as about political and industrial. In fact he is very particular in always pointing out what he calls the unity of our work.

His interest in industrial questions is not merely academic. As mentioned above so far back as 1881-1882 he took the leading part in forming the first Joint-Stock Company in Berar. Four years later we find him co-operating with Rao Bahadur Deorao Vinayak and Mr. Jaikrishna Begaji of Akola in establishing the first factory in Berar organised and managed by educated Hindus. The first one or two

years were years of difficulty and the three leading men had to put up with much ridicule and censure. They had a sweet revenge afterwards when phenomenal profits were reaped year after year and the value of the Company's shares which had dropped to half became fourfold. This concern is now a combined Spinning and Weaving Mill and a Ginning and Pressing Factory. Some eleven years ago another business was started by these same men which was an Oil Pressing Factory at Akola to which was joined later on a ginning factory. The factory is under the management of Mr. Mudholkar's brother. Two companies were formed in 1901 for carrying on ginning and pressing operations at Amraoti and a place near there, of which he is one of the largest shareholders and Chairman of the Board of Directors and a third was formed in the Akola District in which he has substantial interest. To several of the industrial concerns started out in his province he contributed his mite—which in some cases was a fairly large amount. Some of these attempts have not succeeded and along with others he lost money. But he is a veritable Micawber and his having burnt his fingers at times has not diminished his zeal for industrial work.

He was offered the Joint General Secretaryship of the Congress when it was rendered vacant by the death of Pandit Ajudhia Nath, but his modesty precluded him from seriously thinking of accepting it. Similarly it may be mentioned in passing, he declined the Presidentship of the Fifth Indian Social

Conference held at Nagpur in 1891 which was offered to him by the late Mr. Justice Ranade. In recent years Mr. Mudholkar was twice recommended for the Presidentship of the Congress by the Bombay Presidency Association. No doubt this signal honour will be conferred on him very soon. It may be added that all these years he has been Berar Secretary of the Congress, and that in the matter of meeting pecuniary obligations the Berar Committee has ever been honourably distinguished among Congress Committees in India, Mr. Mudholkar himself with Mr. Joshi making large sacrifices for the cause. [Since the above was written he has presided over its sittings at Bankipur.]

Mr. Mudholkar has in his day sustained several bereavements of a very trying character. He lost his father when he was only 20 years old, he lost his first wife in 1892, he lost his daughter, to whom he was singularly attached, in 1902, he has lost two of his brothers and only recently he lost his nephew—a promising young man who passed LL. B. Examination last year. He is a man of strong attachments and it can be easily imagined what a sore application these ordeals must have been to him.

PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH OF THE THIRD PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE HELD AT RAIPUR IN 1907

Brother Delegates, Friends and Countrymen:—I am grateful to you for the honour you have done me in electing me President of this Conference and I am very grateful to my friends Dr. Gour and Mr. Dadabhoy for the very kind terms in which they have been pleased to express their appreciation of the humble services which it has fallen to my lot to perform. I value the honour not so much for the dignity which the position accorded by your suffrages carries, but chiefly for the greater scope which it affords for helping great cause in which you all here and our countrymen in other parts are working. (*Cheers.*) Grave questions of vital interest to the country are loudly calling for solution and are engaging the attention of the Government and the thinking portion of the people. Various views are advanced, different plans proposed and methods suggested in regard to them. Both on account of the importance and nature of the subjects and the zeal evinced in their discussion it is to be expected that the assembly representing the wisdom, knowledge, experience and public spirit of these Provinces (*Hear, hear*) would be

called upon to deal with them directly and indirectly. I este m it as a great privilege to be accorded the position of President on such an important occasion.

Gentlemen, we are living in a critical period of our history. A new spirit generated by the contact of two great civilizations, the Western and the Eastern, is moving the people of this vast continent and rousing them to a sense of national existence and making them alive to their duties and responsibilities, their rights, privileges as members of a civilized community and a world-wide Empire. Placed by the inscrutable decree of an All-wise Providence in the position of British subjects, welded together by common interests, common objects, common difficulties and common disabilities the people of India have, through the beneficent influence of elevating knowledge, been awakened to the consciousness that they should have the complete status of British citizens. They are stirred by the worthy ambition of being entrusted with their full share of work in the difficult task of Government and their zeal is fired to develop in themselves the requisite physical, mental and moral capacities for this task (*Cheers.*)

Gentlemen, the principle of Swadeshism, which is manifesting itself with such strength for some time past, is an expression of this lofty spirit of duty and dignity (*Hear, hear*) which is spreading amongst the people. It embodies the sentiment of nationalism or patriotism which is such a potent factor in the progress of the human race. Devotion for the motherland, love for all her children, and burning desire for

strengthening their capabilities so that they may labour for the improvement of the human kind and for the faithful observance of the great moral laws which rule the universe, these constitute the essence of the sentiment. (*Cheers.*) The duty which it lays on us is to create a strong, robust, hard-working, industrious, sober, thrifty body of citizens capable of enduring the vicissitudes of life and fit to fight its battles. The citizens have to be equipped with the knowledge of the working of the forces of nature, their action and interaction; and this strength and this knowledge have to be guided and made efficient by moral sense and spiritual faith. In its comprehensive aspect and full significance the Swadeshi principle or, as it might be rendered, the principal of nationalism or patriotism is a message to each nation to qualify itself for the noble purpose of strenuously exerting towards the perfection of mankind. (*Hear, hear.*) Faith in truth, justice, righteousness and universal love are the bedrock on which its temple is reared. (*Cheers.*)

Associated in organised societies in which human units have to live and work, maintenance of peace and order, the establishment of just relations between the different classes and grades of workers, the promotion of co-operation and healthy fellow-feelings amongst them are a prime necessity. Thus it is that politics play such a prominent part in the economy of the human race. The questions they deal with have to be approached not in a spirit of apology but as a matter of imperative necessity and high duty.

Economic Swadeshism forms a part of this great sphere of work and its importance to the Indian community placed in the situation in which it is by adventitious causes cannot be too highly estimated.

Our Congresses, Conferences and Associations in working for political reforms, industrial regeneration and elimination of unhealthy social practices and institutions are thus discharging not a merely ordinarily useful or necessary function, but are engaged in a most meritorious and holy work. The sacredness of their mission, its intimate connection with the perfection of human society, its unison with the laws of God cannot be too often insisted upon or too firmly impressed on our minds. In times of difficulty and trial when the obstacles in our path threaten to overwhelm us, when disappointment makes craven suggestions and when the scoffs of the Philistine and the faithless seem to produce an unnerving effect, the consciousness of the loftiness of our purpose and its conformity with the eternal verities will put heart into us, steady our step and brighten our vision. Sustained by it, criticism and opposition instead of damping our zeal or enfeebling our energy would go only to strengthen our resolve and increase our vigour.

Gentlemen, we ought to derive encouragements and support from the progress which our cause is making. It is not very many years ago when the mere mention of political reform roused denunciation and created a storm, and the Congress and its allied institutions were called seditious and dangerous.

The stages of hatred and opposition, of opprobrium and misrepresentation, of ridicule and contempt through which every movement having any vitality in it has to pass, have been left behind. We are now well amidst the stage of partial concession, and can reasonably hope for complete acceptance before long. The propaganda which was deemed at one time dangerously subversive is now recognised as legitimate. Its exceedingly modest first demand which was characterised as "a leap in the dark" and "a big jump into the unknown" has long been granted and placed on the Statute book. Its further, fuller and more thorough-going measures of reform which were denounced as impossible and revolutionary, are within a measurable distance of at least partial fulfilment. (*Cheers.*) The first and most difficult steps have been taken. The principle of a real live representation has been accepted, the justice of the claims of Indians to participate more largely in the higher branches of the administration is not now questioned as it once was; financial control the mere suggestion of which 18 years ago roused viceregal ire is now within sight. (*Hear, hear.*) With the return of the wave of liberalism in England two years back the number of men of position and influence taking interest in the advancement of the political status of Indians has greatly increased. Responsible statesmen are busy considering what further steps towards progress should be taken. Above all in the King-Emperor's message to Parliament the need for early reform is frankly stated. (*Hear, hear.*) But the most notable

achievement of the forces of which the National Congress was the first and the most characteristic expression, is the rise of public opinion, the hold which the principle of nationalism is obtaining in the country, the daily increasing spread of earnestness of purpose and activity of effort. (*Cheers.*)

All these are factors which contribute to success and ought to put heart into us. And though a rosy-coloured optimism, which sees nothing but the pleasant side of a thing, is not desirable, a pessimism which can see the dark side only is equally to be avoided. (*Hear, hear.*) A state of thorough contentedness with things as they are is a prelude to stagnation. Some measure of discontent is a necessary incentive to progress. (*Hear, hear.*) It is on a judicious admixture of the two that solid and permanent advance depends. Avoiding on one hand the helplessness of fatalism and the solid complacency of optimism we have to avoid on the other the impatience and haste, which want of sufficient thought and want of sufficient experience are apt to produce. Such success as our agitation is capable of achieving ought to serve as an inspiration and incentive to further efforts. We must utilise our failures to strengthen our purpose and to fix our resolve. Judged in this light our present position is one of hopefulness and expectation. Political progress is of necessity very slow. Even in a homogeneous community no individual or body, possessing power willingly or easily agrees or submits to part with any portion of it. In the case of India there are the addi-

tional difficulties caused by the difference of race and the antagonism of interest due to the fact of an outside rule. As practical politicians and as persons endowed with common sense we must make allowances for all these various considerations and not take up an attitude which ignores them. Similarly, the frame of mind which entertains no confidence in the sense of justice, wise statesmanship or far sighted prudence of the British nation is emphatically to be deprecated. Such distrust and low estimate is not, in the first place, correct and justifiable and, in the second place, serves no useful purpose and only increases our difficulties by creating ill-will and friction. It would be untrue to pretend that we are satisfied with our lot and that we are content with a system, a form of Government, in which sufficient scope is not afforded to us to rise to the height of our stature. It would be equally unwise to entertain visions which are incapable of accomplishment. We must look facts fully in the face and adjust our ideals, our objects and our methods accordingly. Whatever regeneration for India is possible lies only through the establishment of solidarity of opinions and sentiments among the different races, castes and creeds inhabiting this vast country. It is by the harmonising of the various interests which exist that our elevation can take place. The educated classes who are the natural leaders of the people must fully perceive this. They must ever bear in mind the utter folly of clannish or parochial aims. It is in the consolidation of an Indian nation including in it all the diverse communities in-

habiting this continent or holding interests therein that they ought to put their great trust and faith.

Self-Government is the goal of our political ambition, because it is only an autonomous nation which can afford scope and supply facilities for the development of those intellectual powers and that moral and spiritual favour which must be possessed by its citizens before they can take their share in the evolution of the human race. Such autonomy for India is not beyond the range of practical politics when some of the wisest and best men of England admit its justice and contemplate its grant. It is not an impossible or impracticable claim which we advance. It is not merely speculative considerations or abstract principles on which we rely. We take our stand on the firm ground of statutory rights and royal pledges. (*Hear, hear.*) The combined wisdom of the three estates of the British realm laid down in 1833 :—

“That no native of the said territories (India)
 “nor natural born subject of His Majesty
 “resident therein shall by reason only of his
 “religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or
 “any of them be disabled from holding any
 “place, office or emolument under the said
 “Government.” (Act 3 and 4 William 4 C.
 85, S. 87.) (*Hear, hear.*)

Her late Gracious Majesty Queen Empress Victoria (*Hear, hear*) of revered memory in the proclamation which was issued in November, 1858, gave assurances—

which more than anything else restored tranquillity and secured peace. Says that proclamation :—

“ We hold ourselves bound to the natives of
 “ our Indian territories by the same obligations
 “ of duty which bind us to all our other subjects ;
 “ and these obligations by the blessing of
 “ Almighty God we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. * * And it is our further will
 “ that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever
 “ race or creed, be fully and impartially admitted
 “ to offices in our service and the duties of which
 “ they may be qualified by their education, ability
 “ and integrity to discharge.” (*Hear, hear.*)

These are not merely empty words vainly uttered. They represent the essence of wise and far-sighted statesmanship. They were issued after mature deliberation. They are solemn promises made in the full knowledge of their sanctity. Those who scoff at them or try to explain them away show the gravest disrespect to the august sovereign from whom they came in the fulness of her heart.

Of these attempts to read away Her late Majesty's Proclamation Lord Ripon said on a memorable occasion in the Viceregal Legislative Council “ The document is not a treaty. It is not a diplomatic instrument. It is a declaration of principles of Government which, if it is obligatory at all, is obligatory in respect to all to which it is addressed. The doctrine, therefore, to which Sir Fitz James Stephen has given the sanction of his authority, I feel bound to

repudiate to the utmost of my power. It seems to me to be inconsistent with the character of my sovereign and with the honor of my country, and if it were once to be received and acted upon by the Government of England, it would do more than anything else could possibly do, to strike at the root of our power and to destroy our just influence. Because that power and that influence rest more upon the conviction of our good faith than upon any other foundation, aye, more than upon the valour of our soldiers and the reputation of our arms." (*Hear, hear.*)

I would give one more quotation, and this time from a conservative Viceroy. Lord Lytton said on 1st January, 1877, at the Delhi Durbar Assemblage — "But you, the natives of India, whatever your race, and whatever your creed, have a recognised claim to share largely with your English fellow-subjects, according to your capacity for the task, in the administration of the country you inhabit. This claim is founded in the highest justice. It had been repeatedly affirmed by British and Indian Statesmen and by the Legislation of the Imperial Parliament. It is recognised by the Government of India, as binding on its honour, and consistent with all the aims of its policy."

The latest attempt to nullify the proclamation was made by Lord Curzon (*Shame*). It has received the severe rebuke it deserved from no less a personage than Mr. John Morley who said: "I do not believe that the Ministers who advised Queen Victoria in framing one of the most memorable documents in all our

history meant those words, "*so far as may be*" to be construed in a narrow, illiberal, restricted or pettifogging sense. I do not believe that Parliament ever intended this promise of the Queen should be construed in any but a liberal and generous sense." He called the "promise" itself "as wise and politic as it was just." (*Hear, hear.*)

I have preferred to rest our claim to the fullest rights of British citizenship more on legal and constitutional grounds than on ethical principles, not because I consider for a moment that these should be or can be ignored or left out of account. Far from thinking so I firmly believe that no individual, no institution, no community, no nation, no empire may lose sight of them with impunity. Gentlemen, the Divine Law is writ large in history. The immutable principles of justice and righteousness govern the universe. It is righteousness which exalteth a nation. (*Hear, hear.*) Disregard of truth, honesty and love whatever temporary advantages it may secure, is a surer precursor of degeneracy and fall. It is because the declarations, contained in the Statute of 1883 and in the Queen's Proclamation, proceed on a recognition of the principles that they have a permanent value and carry high authority. (*Cheers.*)

At the same time it must be ever borne in mind that the obligation to obey the moral law is mutual. The governed as well as the Governors, the people as much as the repositories of authority are bound to obey it. The existence, safety, and prosperity of both depend upon the fulfilment of this condition.

Our view of politics, of the place it should occupy in our esteem, of the objects which are to be achieved through it, depends—like several others—upon our ideal of existence, upon the doctrines we hold about the purpose of life. If individual happiness, personal pleasure and self-aggrandisement are to be regarded as the be-all and the end-all of human life then politics can be nothing but a game of farce, fraud and chicanery tempered only by the fear that two can play at it. But to all those whose faith is deep and firm in the Divine ordinance or those who steady their faltering steps with the worship of an ideal humanity, it is a department of religion itself. It is as much under the domain of the moral law as individual conduct, family life and neighbourly relations. (*Cheers.*)

Equality of treatment to all, equally before law of all, equal opportunities to all, favouritism to none are basis of permanent empire. (*Cheers.*) The interests of England and India alike require the scrupulous observance of these principles.

The attainment of our ideal can, we recognise, come only in the course of time. But the juncture has certainly arrived when a real and substantial advance on the small beginning, inaugurated 15 years ago should be made. It is in the power of the Government, by giving due effect to the frank, generous and wisely statesmanlike policy, solemnly laid down in 1833 and 1858, to give a living and substantial representation to the people, and thereby confirm them in loyalty and attachment to the British rule. (*Hear. hear.*)

"The noble instincts of the great sovereign who rules this empire, and the high character and liberal sympathies of the statesmen who wield power in the present ministry, encourage the hope that what Macaulay called "the path of honour and of duty" would be followed. Gentlemen, in this connection allow me to read a portion of the Viceroy's speech which appears in the *Statesman* of Calcutta of yesterday (28-3-'07) to hand this morning." In the course of his observations anent the budget his lordship delivered himself thus with reference to *The New India* :—

"The Hon. Mr. Gokhale tempts me to foreshadow the future. I am afraid at present I can only do so faintly. I recognise with him that politically India is in a transition state, that new and just aspirations are springing up amongst its people which the ruling power must be prepared not only to meet but to assist. A change is rapidly passing over the land and we cannot afford to dally. And to my mind nothing would be more unfortunate for Indians than that the Government of India should fail to recognise the signs of the times. I have deemed it all important that the initiative of possible reforms should emanate from us. I have felt that nothing would be more mischievous to British Administration in India in the future than a belief that the Government have acted on no conviction of their own, but simply in submission to agitation in this country and in accordance with instructions conveyed to them from Home. If there has been a misconception as to this, I hope I may be allowed this opportunity of

correcting it. The story, as far as I can tell it at present, is simply this, that last autumn I appointed a Committee of my Council to consider the possibility of a development of administrative machinery in accordance with the new conditions we were called upon to face. The Committee's report was considered by the Council and a despatch expressing the views of my colleague and myself has been forwarded to the Secretary of State. What I would impress upon you is that this move in advance has emanated entirely from the Government of India, and that we are justly entitled to deny any accusation of "an inadequate appreciation of the present situation." We have now to await the reply of the Secretary of State, and there is no intention that any legislation should be undertaken before the public in India and at Home have had ample opportunity for an expression of opinion on the proposals we have placed before him, I can assure all those who are interested in this great question that the despatch we have recently addressed to Mr. Morley is fraught with great possibilities, and I earnestly trust that the suggestions it contains may go far towards satisfying the pressing requirements of the Indian Empire."

But we have to remember, gentlemen, that our advance depends mainly on ourselves. Nations by themselves are made. Representative Government, to be successful, requires in the electors the capacity to exercise the rights asked for and the willingness and readiness to make the requisite sacrifices for their exer-

cise. Keen interests in public affairs, insistence on the rights, and readiness to spend their time and money in vindicating them are necessary. We must have union practically perfect union among the Indians. (*Hear, hear.*) We must make ourselves fit for the high state which we claim. We must be self-reliant, manly and just. (*Cheers.*) A lofty ideal and a noble purpose must guide our footsteps in the march towards the promised land. Taught in the school of adversity we must turn our difficulties to account by making them subserve the increase of our strength. Undaunted by obstacles we must combine patience with a firm resolve. (*Cheers.*)

Countrymen, I have dealt at some length on matters of general principles and national import for two reasons. In the first place, we here, in the Provincial Conference seek to apply to Provincial questions, the policy accepted by us as proper and suitable in matters of national concern. And, in the second place, in the animated discussions that are going on around us and in the apparently conflicting views that are advanced from various sides a statement of our position in clear terms is serviceable for showing that after all there is no real divergence in the so-called opposing schools.

Before I proceed to submit my observations on our Provincial matters, there are two events which recently happened to which I must draw your attention. One is the visit of His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan (*Hear, hear,*) to this country, and the other the Silver Jubilee of the accession to the Baroda throne of His Highness Sir Sayaji Rao Maharaj Gaikwar. (*Loud*

Applause). Though the Amir could not find it possible or convenient to come into greater personal contact with the non-official Indians—Mahomedans, Hindus or Parsees—it is obvious that he has an enlightened appreciation of the actualities of the situation, and evidently considers that both on principle and on grounds of common interests the Mahomedans and Hindus ought to live on terms of fellowship and mutual esteem and to eschew all differences. (*Hear, hear.*)

The Silver Jubilee of His Highness Sir Sayaji Rao Maharaja's reign is an event which has given satisfaction and pleasure not only to his subjects but to all Indians—educated Indians particularly. (*Hear, hear.*) The best and most capable of the Indian Ruling Chiefs, there is no other Prince whose name arouses, outside his state, any such enthusiasm, respect, admiration and pride as his. A Prince of wide reading and deep culture, his enlightened administration, his devotion to work, his high conception of duty are on a par with the policy he has inaugurated of developing the material resources of his State and raising the intellectual, moral and political condition of his subjects. (*Hear, hear.*) Our best wishes go to him (*Hear, hear*), and we pray to the Almighty to grant long life and strength of purpose to such a Prince to carry out his noble mission. (*Loud and tremendous applause.*)

Passing to our local questions, the first and foremost which claims our consideration is the claim of the united territory of the Central Provinces and Berar to be accorded its due share in the adminis-

tration of its affairs. We join in the prayer which has gone from all India about the expansion of the Supreme Legislative Council. (*Hear, hear*) and a larger introduction of the elective principle in its constitution. (*Hear, hear*). Gentlemen while admitting the necessity of a strong Central Government, we believe that its efficiency and capability for doing good will be enhanced by enlisting in the work of administration a larger measure of co-operation from the elected representatives of the people. (*Cheers*).

But it is on more important considerations than oiling the wheels of the administration or increasing their speed, that the claim which we advance for thoroughly representative Legislative Councils is based, and we must take care to emphasize those higher grounds. An autocratic form of Government, even if there is a succession of kings like King Rama, is, from its very nature, bound to produce degeneration and decay. It is only through proper exercise that our organs or faculties can be developed, or even so much as kept in a normally healthy condition. In these days when communal existence and progress depend upon national efficiency, it is of greater importance to see whether any given institution would stimulate national cohesion and national strength rather than whether it would add to the comforts and pleasures of life. In the language of the Resolutions of 1882 of the Government of India on local Self-Government, the expansion of the councils is valuable as "a means of popular and political education," which would enable our people to success-

fully work such form of Representative Government as is established or is being established in the other self-governing part of the British Empire.

In such an expanded Council there should be at least twenty-four elected members and our united territory should have the right of sending at least three members. (*Hear, hear.*)

In one respect, and that is a most important one, the claim of the Central Provinces to have due representation on the Viceregal Council is higher than that of the other provinces of British India. (*Cheers.*) These other provinces have their own Provincial Legislative Councils where all local measures are enacted and where the Provincial Budget is discussed and criticised. Until a similar body is created for this province and while the number of members in the Legislative Council of the Governor-General continues what it is at present, it would be only fair that it should have two non-official elected representatives in that Council. As a matter of fact our position is much more unsatisfactory than that of the other provinces. Only on one occasion, since the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils in 1893, was the appointment of a Central Provinces representative based on the elective principle. For ten years the appointments were made by Government without ascertaining the opinions of the District Councils and the Municipalities as was required by the Rules. Gentlemen, it is not questioned that the persons who were appointed were capable and good men, deserving the

honour; but the omission to consult public opinion remains all the same. In 1905 there was a retrogression, and in that year there was no non-official member for the C. P. In 1906 a non-official member was re-appointed, but there was again an ignoring of the electorate entitled to be consulted. We have nothing to complain against the choice made, and in criticising the appointment we express no want of confidence in our distinguished countryman and respected friend the Hon'ble Mr. G. M. Chitnavis. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, this is not a question of individuals. It is an important principle which is at stake and we shall be failing in our duty if we did not record our protest against the persistent disregard of a vital principle. It is sincerely hoped that pending the introduction of the larger reforms we pray for, or those, which, judging by what has appeared in the public press, seems to be in contemplation, the Government will give effect to the Rule that the appointment of the C. P. representative should be made in conformity with the opinions of the District Councils and the Municipal Committees.

Even more important than the reform advocated in regard to our representation on the Supreme Legislative Council is the necessity, which I submit exists, of the creation of Legislative Council for the Central Provinces and Berar. (*Hear, hear.*) This combined territory has an area of 99,376 square miles of purely British territory or including Native States 118,874 square miles. There are 113 towns and 42,987 villages with a total population of 12,783,500. The land revenue and rates in 1905

amounted to Rs. 1,87,29,721. There are large forest tracts and mineral fields which are just opened. The province of Berar and the western portion of the Nagpur divisions constitute the most important cotton producing tract in the country. The number of factories in this area is next to that in the Bombay Presidency alone and the volume of trade is among the largest outside the Presidency towns and the great shipping ports. Gentlemen, the time has certainly come when this important territory, showing so much agricultural, mining, and industrial activity and possessing such vast potentialities, should have an administration which is more in consonance with advanced ideas than the present one. (*Cheers.*) If provincial Legislative Councils were needed elsewhere they are equally needed for our Province. (*Hear, hear.*) Over-centralisation is the weak wheel of Indian administration. Gentlemen, this is not the view only of us—Congressmen or non-officials—but high administrators, with years of experience behind them, have loudly been calling for devolution. It is anomalous that in the application of our provincial finances we have not so much as an opportunity of knowing what dispositions are proposed to be made and the principles on which they are made. While important public interests are unprovided or only inadequately provided for, there has been a multiplication of departments and the creation of posts, the necessity of which is not quite apparent to the uninitiated mind. I think, Gentlemen, that we should, with all the earnestness we possess and

all the arguments we can command, move the Government to establish a Local Legislative Council for the Central Provinces and Berar, in which each district and each of the large towns with a population of 25,000 and over, should have one representative; such Council should have power not only to discuss the budget, but also to vote upon it. The Local Government should have the power of appointing by nomination as many members as there would be elected representatives. The head of the administration would be ex-officio member and President and should be invested with the power of veto. I venture to submit that some such system is urgently needed to create a unity of interest and aims between the Government and the people. There would be little chance of Government being put in a position of continuous minority. It would have to be an extremely ill-advised measure, against which the nominated members—in all probability officers of Government—would join their forces with those of the elected members. The power of veto would remove the last vestige of any danger to the administration from any imprudent act of the Council.

Gentlemen, I have little doubt that if the Government are pleased to act on some such plan as has been advocated above they will before long find out that they have adopted the wisest, the safest and the most honourable course open to them, and that it would conduce as much to strengthen the position and protect the interest of Government as to meet popular wishes and secure popular advancement. No sane or responsi-

ble public man is or can be in sympathy with the forces of disorder or anarchy, if any such exist at all in India, which I greatly doubt. Let the Government only trust the people and they will find that every man who has any stake in the country or has a character to maintain will stand firmly by it. (Hear, hear.)

The association of the people in the practical work of administration needs to be developed further. Below the Supreme Council and the Provincial Council there should come District Advisory Boards. The reform here will in one respect be along existing lines. The powers, functions and resources of the District Boards, and Municipal Committees should be increased. Joint Committees of these rural and urban bodies should be created, and these should discharge, in regard to district matters, the functions which the Supreme and Provincial Councils wield in imperial provincial matters.

In advocating the inauguration of these various reforms we proceed on the tacit assumption that Berar will be given the same treatment as those parts of the Central Provinces which are included in British India (Hear, hear), as the term is generally *understood*. The claim of Berar is now engaging the attention of the Government, and there are indications which warrant the hope that its justness is recognised. That Province is now held on a permanent tenure by the Crown, and as such is it as much a part of the British Dominions as territories acquired by conquest or cession. It would be only meet and proper that the administration should, in every respect be conducted on those principles which

are accepted as just and necessary for British India. (Cheers.) I had on other occasions to go pretty fully into this question. But as its importance and its intimate connexion with the well-being and progress of nearly three millions of people required that I should bring it before you in observation, I have given here a bare indication of the gist of the argument.

The next question, Brother delegates, to which I should draw your attention is the separation of Judicial from Executive functions. After the discussion that has been going on for years and the weighty pronouncement made by eminent Englishmen with Indian experience, one would have thought that an elaborate discussion was not needed. Lord Dufferin in his epigrammatic style called it a "counsel of perfection." But though 19 years have passed since then the establishment of this system, universally admitted to be just and second in principle, is as remote as ever. It is conceded by all the upholders of the existing system that it is objectionable on principle and mischievous in practice, that it is not good that the same officer, who makes a departmental enquiry or directs a Police investigation, and after going through the papers of these preliminary enquiries directs a prosecution, should himself act as Judge in the cause. Except in some few regrettable cases the magistrates are, it ought to be emphatically stated, upright and honourable men, swayed only by the consideration of doing what appears to them justice. But it is not at all easy for ordinary human nature to divest itself of the one-sided view

created by the *ex parte* statements and proceedings held *in camera*. The bugbear of "prestige" is put most in requisition for defending the present system. What that means it is not difficult to find out. It is not the prestige of the Government as such which will suffer. There is absolutely no danger that the collection of the land revenue, the local cesses, the income tax, the punctual realisation of every kind of income direct or indirect, will be affected in the slightest degree. All that would happen would be that instead of the respect and awe, which the possession of great authority produces in the minds of the common district people, being all bestowed on the Collector-Magistrate it will be divided between the Collector and the District Magistrate if a separation of duties takes place. This is all that would happen.

As to the plea of increase of expenditure, it has to be pointed out that for more provinces than one it has been shown that it would not be necessary to make any appreciable increase in the total number of officers employed. In our own province—the C. P. and Berar—there were in 1905, 36,115 original criminal cases, of which some 1,800 were miscellaneous. Out of these 26·1 per cent cases, *i.e.*, a little above a fourth, were tried and disposed of by Honorary Magistrates sitting singly or by Benches of Magistrates and 72·7 by stipendiary subordinate Magistrates. The civil list shows 59 Assistant Commissioners, 80 Extra Assistant Commissioners, and 76 Tahsildars. It is not at all difficult to so distribute work and allot officers as to

make available a sufficient number of them for purely criminal work and still leave an adequate staff for attending to revenue and other executive and miscellaneous matters. If the principle of devolution is given a properly due scope, much of the work done at present by executive officers will be done by District Boards and Municipalities. There is thus no reason to fear that any additional taxation will have to be resorted to for carrying out this reform. But if the case were otherwise, and it was only by making a large increase in expenditure that the separation of judicial from executive function could be carried out, it would have to be undertaken all the same. (Hear, hear.) The purity of justice and the confidence of the people in our judicial tribunals are objects of sufficient importance to justify this pecuniary sacrifice. (Cheers.)

The important question of education demands our attention next. Of grave moment to all nations its significance to the Indian is incalculable. It is the one remedy for all our ills, our spiritual and moral degeneracy, our deep widespread poverty and low industrial life, our political degradation and social disruption. The work which has to be done is overwhelmingly great. Of the total male school-going population of India 19 per cent receive instruction, and of the girls only 2·2 per cent. Only one child out of 11 children of school-going age goes to school, and out of 10 children who attend school only 1 is a girl. In these provinces 17·5 per cent of the boys and 1·8 per cent of girls are

shown as attending school. The census figures for the Central Provinces and Berar show greater still the prevalence of ignorance. In the C.P. out of a total population of 11,873,000 there were 327,500 or 2·7 per cent literate. In Berar out of a total population of 2,754,000 only 123,300 or 4·5 per cent were literate. Let us see how matters stand in the progressive countries. In Japan 91 per cent of the boys and 68 per cent of the girls in the country receive education (Hear, hear.) For 14,580 cities, towns and villages Japan has 30,420 schools, while in India for 574,006 cities, towns and villages there are only 190,622 schools. In Germany among 139,855 recruits raised for the army in the year 1875 only 3,311 or 23·7 per thousand were found illiterate. In 1898 the figures were 252,382 total recruits of whom only 173 or 7 men out of ten thousand were returned as unable to read and write. Gentlemen, I have no wish to pile statistics before you and tire your patience by reading columns of figures. Impressed as Government and the people are of the backward condition of the greater portion of the masses in this country, they have frankly to recognise that nothing short of bold steps like those taken by Japan, will meet the situation which has arisen. (Hear, hear.) Sacrifices are demanded of the Government and of the people, and I hope they will rise equal to the occasion. There must be universal primary education. This means that it should be compulsory and should be free. In most of the European countries and in Japan elementary

education extending over a period of about 4 years is compulsory and further education up to the age of 14 is practically enforced during a portion of the day. It is a subject of great satisfaction that the Government are moving in this matter. We must congratulate and thank the Government of India for the proposal to abolish fees in primary schools. (Hear, hear.) But as I have said, free primary education must be followed very soon after by the other measure, *viz.*, to make it obligatory on every parent and guardian to send his child or ward to some school. It is not primary education alone which demands our attention. Secondary education, higher education, technical education in all its branches, all require far greater facilities than exist at present. Higher education is distrusted by some persons and the educational policy followed in the C. P. till very recently was not sufficiently liberal. We trust the keener appreciation of the responsibility of Government will continue to be entertained. The number of High Schools should be increased. A fully equipped Arts College is wanted at Nagpur. There is no College for medicine, nor for Civil Engineering. For scientific and technical education the provision made in the Nagpur and Amraoti Victoria Technical Institutes are sufficient only as a beginning. Concurrently with the increase in the number of institutions the methods also require revision. The present system is based on ideals which the countries, from which our Government borrowed them, have thoroughly revised

and changed. Beginning with the Primary Schools—and especially in the Primary Schools—the aim of the curriculum and of the teaching staff should be to train the faculties of observation and experimenting, to bring the pupils into contact with objects and facts, to give to them such instruction as will prove of practical value to them in their life's work. Moral education and the development of character must be attended to. The present text books are unsatisfactory. All that we ask in regard to our education is that the British Government in India should follow the ideals, objects and methods which have, after full discussion, been accepted as proper for public schools in England. (Cheers.)

The next subject I propose to discuss is one which is vitally concerned with the material well-being of the masses. In the Central Provinces over 70 per cent and in Berar over 75 per cent of the population are dependent upon agriculture. The one industry which holds out some promise of a better future to us—the cotton manufacturing industry—is itself dependent upon land. There is no question which rouses greater interest amongst villagers than the subject of the relative rights of the Government, of the owners of lands, and of the various tenure-holders. Most of us in this hall own plots large or small in size. It is thus natural if we should devote special attention to this question. Gentlemen, it is a long-standing complaint of the land-holding and cultivating classes that they have always to bear more than their fair share of the burden of the State ex-

penditure, and that they are often crushed under the weight which is placed on them. It is not possible, Gentlemen, to take even a cursory view of the curious—of the fatefully shifting—policy followed by Government towards the landed classes. Whenever the occurrence of a great calamity like famines pricked the national conscience or when the presence of a grave catastrophe like the mutiny counselled the adoption of a policy of conciliation and sympathy, the Government, have in the most unreserved terms, admitted the wisdom of granting to the Indian landholder fixity of tenure and permanence in the revenue demand. Secretaries of Land, State, Royal or Government Commissions, Viceroys, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, Councillors and other high officers have acknowledged the harm which these periodical revisions of the land revenue demand produce. There is nothing more unsettling than the so-called settlements. The harassing nature of the operations, the door they open to corrupt oppressive practices, the arbitrary enhancement they bring about, are described in vivid colours by men like Sir Auckland Colvin, Mr. Carpenter and others, with a life's experience of Indian land tenures. In 1862 and 1865 the Secretary of State sanctioned Lord Canning's scheme for the permanent settlement of the land revenue demand wherever certain conditions were found to exist or came into existence. In the C. P. the Chief Commissioner Mr. (afterwards Sir) Richard Temple placing full confidence in the declared intentions of Government assured the people that it was recommended that in the

case of those landholders who would effect substantial improvements in their property, the assessments would be revised with a view to limitations being placed upon them in perpetuity. In the revision which was made at the expiry of the settlement effected in Sir Richard Temple's time the Government revenue demand on several of these estates was enhanced 300, 400, 500 per cent, and I have seen in some places 1,500 per cent and instead of the Perpetuity promised, the duration of the revised assessments was limited in some cases to 16 or even 12 years. (Shame.) Gentlemen, the history of the land revenue limitation question affords an object lesson how a measure dictated alike by statesmanship and by humanity can first be obstructed and then rendered nugatory by appealing to pseudo-scientific shibboleths and the needs of an impecunious exchequer. The upholder of the doctrine of the unearned increment finding it difficult to meet the broad-minded and wise considerations urged by Colonel Baird Smith's Commission and the Lieutenant-Governor of the N.W.P., which were amplified and emphasised by Lord Canning, hit upon the expedient of suggesting "conditions" and "provisoes." They succeeded in gaining the time they wanted and by 1882-83 they so far achieved their object that even a Viceroy like Lord Ripon had to say that a permanent settlement, pure and simple, was out of the question. But anxious as that generous-minded statesman was to bring some real alleviation to the lot of the landholder and the cultivator, his government hit upon a plan which would have given

a modified form of permanent settlement. There was to be a period of finality fixed for each province after which there was to be no general resurvey or reclassification and the assessment imposed was to be deemed correct and proper. In future, enhancements were to be allowable only on three grounds :—(a) increase of cultivation, (b) improvements effected at the cost of the State, and (c) increase of prices.

Gentlemen, this was an eminently reasonable and fair compromise. Nay, it was the most unexceptionable way of placing the settlement system on a just and equitable basis even from the standpoint of the "unearned increment theory." The principle laid down in Lord Ripon's Resolution were accepted by all the local governments and it was hoped that the controversy was at an end and that the people would no longer be subjected to the greed of a heartless political economy, which is as unsound in principle as it is inapplicable in practice. But these hopes were shortlived. Madras, the crushing nature of the land revenue system of which has been demonstrated by late Mr. Alexander Rogers (for several years Revenue Councillor to the Government of Bombay), first quietly raised a difficulty about giving statutory sanction to the principles laid down by the Government of India, and thereupon the Secretary of State disallowed the proposal of the Government of India. The principle, however, was not questioned. A few years more and even that consummation is attained. And now the Resolution of 1902 has given short shift to the just and equitable canons which the Government

of India wisely laid down in 1883. Gentlemen, it is not possible to enter into a discussion of the subject here. All I would do is to point out that the necessity of placing a limitation in perpetuity on arbitrary and crushing enhancements is admitted by all the best, the fairest, most generous-minded of statesmen and administrators, that the Resolution of 1883 emanated from a Government which contained Sir Evelyn Baring (now Lord Cromer) as Finance Minister, and that it was accepted by local Governments and administrations presided over by exceptionally capable and experienced men. It is also very easy to show that the position taken up in Lord Curzon's Resolution is illogical and is indicative of a confusion of ideas. Gentlemen, there is the great fact which has to be faced. Everyman—official or non-official—who is not grossly ignorant or grossly callous, admits the intense and widespread poverty of the masses in India. The increase of the indebtedness of the agricultural classes is causing anxiety to Government. Measures like the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, the Punjab Land Alienation Act and the new sections introduced in the Bombay Land Revenue Code in 1901, are so many confessions which admit the gravity of the situation. If the present system was satisfactory and the ryot was prospering everywhere, why are measures like these placed on the statute book? It is admitted that the condition of the landholding and cultivating classes is lamentably bad and the exceptional legislation is wanted. But these are mer

palliatives; they merely treat the symptoms. The root of the disease is untouched.

Gentlemen, administrators holding the highest places, Commissions, the majority of which were officers of Government, have been forced to admit that "to the revenue system must in candour be attributed the indebtedness of the ryot in no small measure." The position, Gentlemen, is this. Both in the Zemindari and Ryotwari tracts the assessment is based on too high estimates of the capacity of the soil or the estate. It proceeds on assumption which, in the majority of cases, turn out to be incorrect in fact; enhancements are affected on unsound principles, the attempt everywhere being to bring in as large an addition to the revenue as possible. Whether the year is good, bad or indifferent the last pice is too often realised from the ryot! Even in the year of the last great famine, when over five lakhs of people out of a total population of twenty-seven and half lakhs were on relief works in Berar, in several Taluks 95 per cent. of the revenue was collected. (Cries of shame). A high Government officer, in explaining the abnormal increase of transfers of immoveable property by mortgage or sale, had to regretfully admit that a large number of them had been effected on paying the Government land revenue demand. (Loud cries of shame). Gentlemen, lakhs and lakhs have been spent over the Survey and Settlement Departments. The data accumulated in regard to the area and capacities of various estates are sufficiently

full and voluminous. Out of sheer mercy for the unfortunate land-owner and tenure-holder Government will be pleased to give up the idea of an impossibly perfect estimation and to save him from the harassing disturbances of these periodical enquiries. With due deference to the authors of the Resolutions of 1902 we would ask Government to see that the position taken up in that Resolution is not sound. If general prosperity does not bring about a rise in prices what benefit has the land-holder received for which he can, as a land-holder, be called upon to determine the necessity and propriety of an enhancement, when every legal and proper ground on which it can be asked, is included in the three heads laid down in Lord Ripon's Resolution.

Gentlemen, what makes these settlement operations unsatisfactory is their one-sided character. The Government determine not only the general policy on which the land revenue demand is to be based but the capacity of the soil, the value of an estate or field, its future capabilities, the profits existing and prospective, the general advance of the taluk or district during the currency of the expiring settlement and the general rise of prices; all these are to be judged by the settlement officer. The land-holders have—in the ryotwari tracts at any rate and I believe, in the zemindari tracts also—no means of knowing what the views of this personage are till after the whole thing is settled. Only once we were in Berar given the opportunity of knowing the recommendations of that officer and the reasons given by him in support of them. On the occasion it was

demonstrated that a great part of the data on which the report was based was incorrect, that the reasoning was defective and that the conclusions were open to serious question. The Government of India modified the proposals which had been made on those data. We did not get a second opportunity of making similar representations in regard to the revision settlement of the other parts of Berar though we made repeated applications.

Now, Gentlemen, what we might fairly ask Government is, why should there be this investigation and determination behind the back of the ryot, and secondly why should not these orders be liable to be questioned in a court of law? When Bombay Act I of 1865 was passed it was stated by the member of Government in charge of the Bill that the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts was not taken away by any of its provisions. During the ten years which followed there arose a number of cases where the action of the department was questioned (I should hardly think questioned successfully) and could not be supported. From 1876 the Indian Statute Book has been graced with the provisions which oust the jurisdiction of the ordinary Courts of Law in the most important revenue matters. Gentlemen, it is impossible to approve of this distrust by the Gentlemen of the Courts established by it and presided over by Judges, selected by it. Would it not be more consonant with fairness to allow the actions of the settlement department to be examined freely in the open atmosphere, the broad sunshine and light of a Court of Justice?

The case we have got is a very strong one. But we have been till now worsted in the fight. Instead of gaining ground we have been steadily losing it. We must not, however, lose heart or give up to our rulers, and not lack in our efforts till we have succeeded in gaining our object. (Hear, hear.)

Gentlemen, there are numerous other wants and grievances of the people which deserve to be taken up by our Conference and placed before the Government for redress. It is not possible to deal with them in one address, nor can they be considered at any one sitting of the Conference. Some of them will be dealt with by the resolutions which will be placed before you, others we must leave for future occasions.

I think it my duty, however, to refer to one more matter to which I made a passing reference in the opening portion of my address. With all the natural advantages which India possesses, in spite of the general fertility of her soil, the suitability of the climate for purposes of production of wealth, the vastness of the mineral resources, and the peaceful, sober, industrious and thrifty character of the people, there is deep and widespread poverty in the land. This poverty has justly been attributed to the decadence of our old industrial system and to the bulk of the population being thrown on land. The first Famine Commission, which sat 28 years ago, pointed out that this low industrial condition was a powerful contributory cause of the calamities which followed a failure of rains, and they suggested the adoption of steps for promot-

ing the establishment of new industries and for the revival of old ones. Gentlemen, what is true of India generally applies also to these provinces.

For the creation of a sound industrial system, which will by its flourishing condition afford profitable employment to large sections of our people, two things are first wanted ; (1) Capital and (2) Technical and Scientific knowledge and skill. Newly established industries, however, demand tender nurture and special care like infants. The self-governing countries supply such special care and nurture by a well-regulated system of protective tariffs and bounties. These methods are not favoured by the prevailing economic policy of the British Government. But it is quite in our power to give such protection ourselves to the products of our indigenous manufactures. (*Hear, hear.*) We can by resolving to use Indian articles when these can be had, and by giving preference to them over foreign ones, even though the cost might be higher afford to our struggling nascent industries the help and succour which they require in their childhood. (*Hear, hear.*) It is a matter for congratulation that the Government also are moving in the matter and have adopted a sympathetic attitude towards indigenous articles. (*Cheers.*) But the main task is ours, the main responsibility is ours, and it is we who must put our shoulders to the wheel. The movement for the encouragement on Swadeshi articles has over and above its objective results a very great subjective value. It teaches us the value of standing

on one's own legs and develops self-reliance, self-help and self-confidence. (*Hear, hear.*) It will serve to bring the different classes of the community more closely together and promote unity, mutual sympathy and fellow-feeling. (*Hear, hear.*)

Gentlemen, this is the third time we meet in our Provincial Conference. We can claim credit for little achievement. The field over which we have to work is vast and it is strewn over with numerous pit-falls, thorns and sharp stones which impede motion. Our progress is beset with difficulties. But the obstacles, instead of damping our energies, should rouse our courage. (*Hear, hear.*) Laying aside petty differences of opinion eschewing personal aims and avoiding personal predilections and jealousies we must work in amity and accord. (*Hear, hear.*) It is not given to any one man or generation to clear this land and to plant it with beautiful trees. We should be content if in our time we succeed in cleaning even so much as a small plot. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, my faith is firm that if we are true to ourselves, and if we follow the behests of the noble and the great sages of the past and the present we shall raise ourselves to a position of equality with the other great nations of the world. (*Hear, hear.*)

It is by devotion to duty that our salvation can be achieved. (*Hear, hear.*) The stern daughter of "The Voice of God" who is "a light to guide, a rod to check the erring and reprove" must rule our conduct. (*Hear, hear.*) Commending ourselves unto her guidance we must pray of her :—

" Oh let my weakness have an end !

" Give unto to me made lowly wise

" The spirit of self-sacrifice ;

" The confidence of reason give,

" And in the light of truth thy

" Bondman let me live."

(Loud applause and repeated cries of "*Bande Mataram.*")



R. C. Dutt

ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT, C.I.E.

Of the many eminent sons that India has produced since she passed under the British sceptre, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt occupies by common consent a pre-eminent position. Born in 1848, he has seen sixty years of progress that India has made, a period crowded with events of a more or less momentous character. Belonging to the well-known Dutt family of Rambagan, Calcutta, he received his early education at the now well-known Hare School and later at the Presidency College. He then proceeded to England, entered University College, London, and competed for the Open Competitive Civil Service and came out third in the order of merit at the examination of 1869. He also attended the Inns of Courts and was called to the Bar the same year. In 1871, he returned to India, as a Member of the Indian Civil Service, when he was but a young man of 23. During his long service of twenty-six years he had charge of some of the largest and most important districts in Bengal—like Burdwan, with its population of a million and a half and Backerganj, with its population of two millions and Midnapur with its population of two and a half millions and Mymensingh, with its population of three and a half millions—

which is equal to the population of many a small Kingdom in Europe. He was a typical District Officer, enjoying the full confidence of both his superiors and of his subordinates, of Hindus and of Mahomedans and of Zemindars and ryots. In some of the districts that have in recent years come to the front since the partition troubles of Bengal, he had the unique distinction of being a trusted officer of Government. Thus, he was in charge of the large and difficult Mahomedan districts of Mymensingh and Backerganj in which the Mahomedan Zemindars co-operated with him most cordially. His success as a District Officer won him not only popular favour but also official distinction. He eventually became in 1894 Divisional Commissioner for Burdwan and in 1897 for Orissa, the highest post at the time an Indian could attain to. In 1912, he was made C.I.E. by Government for his marked success as an Administrator. During his service, he enjoyed the confidence and friendship of distinguished men like Sir Stewart Bayley, Sir Anthony MacDonnell and Sir Henry Stevens, all of whom rose to be Lieutenant-Governors of Provinces.

Mr. Dutt belongs to that early band of civilians who made it a sacred duty of theirs to learn the ancient history and literature of India first hand from its original sources. The names of Sir William Muir and Sir William Wilson Hunter, not to speak of others, stand out prominently amongst them. Mr. Dutt's literary activities date from the time he was a young district officer. His first literary venture was the Bengali

novel *Banga Bijeta*, which was published in 1874. Coming under the same head may be mentioned here his three other tales of Indian History and his social novel *Sanar* and *Samaj*, which was originally published in 1885 and offered again in English garb under the name of *Lake of Palms*, in 1912. The last of these has had a great circulation amongst both Indians and Europeans of culture and must take rank as one of those few novels by Indians treating of Indian life and attempting to lift that "curtain which veils the inner life of the people of India from the West" that is the true function of the Interpreter of the East to the West. How well Mr. Dutt has discharged that no easy task will be apparent to any one who has read the novel even cursorily. Another great Bengali work that Mr. Dutt produced deserves a prominent mention. It is the translation of the Rig Veda into Bengali, which was done in 1885. It was well received both by Government and the literary public, the late Professor Max Muller giving his warmest support to the undertaking.

Greater even than his novels were his historical works which have a reputation of their own now all over India. The earliest work in this department is his *Civilization of Ancient India* published in 1888, while its author was in charge of Mymensingh district, one of the largest in Bengal. So great was the industry of Mr. Dutt that the book not only met a long felt want but exhibited considerable original research that was heartily acknowledged by eminent scholars in India and Europe. Professor Max Muller, with his usual generosity, en-

couraged him and helped him in his work. Closely connected with this work is his *Lays of Ancient India*, being selections from Indian poetry rendered into English verse, published in 1893. It is, in fact, on the one hand, a companion volume to his *Ancient India*, illustrating as it does the life and thought of the different periods comprising it, and on the other an excellent supplement to Dr. H. H. Wilson's *Theatre of Hindus* which treats of the principal classical dramas of India. That he possesses a perfect command of English will be seen from the 24 lines set out below from his piece entitled Asoka's Message to Foreign Nations.—

Far, far extend Kalinga's plains,
 And Bengal's fertile coast;
 Asoka of the gods beloved,
 These sent his conquering host.
 They enslaved a hundred thousand men
 A hundred thousand died—
 "And is this what a conquest means?"
 The pious monarch cried!

* * * *

Repentance wrung his royal breast,
 And he was meek and lowly;
 And virtuous wishes filled his soul,
 And aspirations holy.
 He thought of Sakya, noble Teacher,
 Buddha high of birth,
 Who left his throne and toiled for men,
 And spread good will on earth;

"Ho ! other conquests I will spread,

And other trophies win."—

The pious monarch thus he cried,—

"I'll conquer crime and sin :

Unto the frontiers of my realm

And far beyond ; proclaim

Asoka fights in faith alone,

And wins the righteous fame !"

There are other pieces in the volume of excellent poetic merit. Take for instance the fire of *Draupadi's Remonstrance* or the gentle, soothing of the saintly Yudhishthira's reply. The vedic pieces, in particular, are well worth the attention of those interested in religious poetry. With these must go the condensed metrical versions of the Mahabharata and Ramayana that Mr. Dutt published in 1898. To the former, dedicated by the way to the Marquess of Ripon, the late Professor Max Muller wrote a noteworthy introduction. Everybody knows what a long poem the Mahabharata is ; it is in fact, "the longest poem" in the whole world as Max Muller put it. To sift it and extract from it what may have been the original story is no easy task. "The task has been boldly undertaken," wrote Max Muller, "and carried through, as far as I can judge, with great success by Mr. Romesh Dutt in his Mahabharata condensed into English verse." He has himself given an account of the principles by which he was guided in his work. He has, as much as possible, taken a number of verses of the original and rendered them faithfully into English. He has left out on the

very largest scale, but he has not added; and the impression which his bold undertaking leaves on the reader is certainly that something like what we read in English may have been recited in India when the war between the Kurus and the sons of Pandu was first sung by the ancient bards of the country." That is no slight praise, remembering the scholarship and fame of the person who gave it. It is, in fact, "a kind of photographic representation, a snapshot, as it were, of the old poem." The companion volume "*Ramayana*" condensed in English verse, dedicated to Prof. Max Muller, was published in 1889. There is hardly space here to quote from these fine versions of the great epics, but we promise our readers will on turning to them enjoy both Indian History and Poetry at one stretch. The volumes are sure to last so long as Hindus revere their hoary past.

Of his other works, prominent mention must be made of his *Brief History of Ancient and Modern India* which has long been a school text-book on the subject in India. His history of Ancient and Modern Bengal deserves to be more widely known. His *Literature of Bengal* is an excellent *vade mecum* of the literary progress of Bengal from the earliest to modern times. His *Rambles in India* and his *Three Years in Europe* have had a wide circulation among educated Indians.

The University of London recognised his services to the study of Indian History when it appointed him in 1898, Lecturer in Indian History in its University. His *Mahabharata* and *Rama-*

yana were published when he was occupying this position at that University. While in the same chair he published his remarkable work, *The Economic History of India* in two volumes, the first of which, published in 1901, treats of India under early British rule and the other (1903) treats of the Victorian period. This work is a comprehensive one and deals with the economic aspects of British rule in India. "Excellent works" writes Mr. Dutt "on the military and political transactions of the British in India have been written by eminent historians. No history of the people of India, of their trades, industries and agriculture, and of their economic condition under British administration has yet been compiled. Recent famines in India have attracted attention to this very important subject, and there is a general and widespread desire to understand the condition of the Indian people, the sources of their wealth and the causes of their poverty." A brief economic history of British India is therefore a great desideratum. The work, in a word, traces the intense poverty of the Indian masses and the repeated famines, devastating their country to their root causes. Its aim is not to discourse on the demerits of British rule. Mr. Dutt, like the generality of his countrymen, acknowledges gratefully the good that England has done to India in the past. At the same time, he is of opinion that British rule may be made permanent and better by the rectification of errors that have crept into the system of government in vogue.

in India since the days of the Company. In one word, as he himself has said of all the greatest literary works of the last half a century, his work as a historian of India centres round the cardinal idea of "Service to our Motherland." That is the keynote of his life's work and that shows the patriot in the administrator.

A man of his historical knowledge and patriotic fervour cannot but have wished for the time when he could be of active use to his country. It is now an open secret that Mr. Dutt sought retirement at the earliest moment from his high official position for the purpose of doing some service as a public man to the country he so dearly loved. After his retirement in 1897, he has, indeed, shown how useful a man of rich and varied experience like himself can be to India at the present moment. His long administrative experience had impressed him with the poverty and the want of staying power in the cultivators of this country. As he was free in 1897, he went over to England to focus English public opinion on this subject. He wrote and spoke on the subject whenever he got an occasion during 1897-8.

His paper on "*Famines in India*" in the *Fortnightly Review* (1897) produced a great stir at the time. During 1897-1898 he spoke to English audiences on the New Sedition law and the hotly contested Calcutta Municipal Bill. In 1898, when he gave evidence before the Currency Committee presided over by Sir Henry H. Fowler, formerly Secretary of State for India, Sir John Muir one of the members of the Committee remarked

that the evidence he gave had struck him as "very important" and wanted to know if the Committee could have other witnesses from amongst Indians themselves.

In 1898, his countrymen honoured him with the invitation to preside over the Indian National Congress that assembled at Lucknow. He assented and the address he delivered on the occasion was a highly suggestive one. He hit on the right nail when he said that the Civil Service represents only the official side of Indian questions. "Our difficulty" he remarked "and our danger lie in this that great administrative questions are discussed and settled in executive councils where we are not represented and not heard. I do not say that the official view is necessarily wrong and that our view is necessarily right but I do say that both views should be fairly represented before the tribunal which shapes our destinies." This defect in the Government of India was first sought to be rectified by Lord Morley's Reform Schemes. Another subject that he touched upon was the question of land revenue assessment. "The real cause" he said of the poverty of our agricultural classes "is simple and even obvious." It is not over-population, or the natural improvidence of the cultivator, for the cause is that "except in Bengal and a few other tracts, the land assessment is so heavy that the cultivator is not able to save in good years enough to meet the failure of harvests in bad years. This subject he touched again, in 1900, by his open letters to Lord Curzon and by the joint memorial of retired administrators that he was instrumental in sending to the Secretary of State for India

in December, 1900. In the latter were made five clear and distinct recommendations :—(1) That the revenue payable by landlords should be limited to half the actual rental ; (2) that settlements should be made for 30 years in all provinces ; (3) the local cesses should be limited ; (4) that the revenue payable by cultivators should not be enhanced except on definite grounds ; and (5) that such revenue should not exceed half the nett produce or the gross produce. The Government in their Résolution on this memorial pronounced in favour of the first three principles later abolishing the cesses, though it virtually declined to accept the last two recommendations. Before his voyage back to England in 1900, Mr. Dutt received public addresses at Calcutta and Bombay. Once again in England he resumed the task of advocating India's claims in England, lecturing and writing on the religion, philosophy, and the literature of India. During the next two years Mr. Dutt stayed in England and did exceedingly useful work in enlightening English people on Indian subjects and making them take an interest in their dependency. One of the best speeches he delivered during this time is worthy of special mention. It was the one on Social Progress in India delivered, before the National Indian Association, in March, 1901. "It is not desirable" he remarked, "and it is not possible to Europeanise Indian life. The people of India are well able to judge for themselves what is best for themselves, and Indian life and Hindu life has always proved itself capable of assimilating what is good for

itself. It is because we have been able to assimilate all needful reforms from generation to generation and from age to age, that our ancient Hindu life exists in India, when so many phases of ancient life have passed away in other countries like Persia, Egypt and Babylon." In the same year he took an active part in the getting up of the memorial to the Secretary of State on the Bombay Land Revenue Amendment Act, himself making the leading speeches at the conference held for the purpose in London. In January following, he also joined the memorial by the Famine Union to the Secretary of State for India asking for an enquiry into the economic condition of India.

Mr. Dutt returned to India in February 1902 and was welcomed to Madras by the Mahajana Sabha. "I have lived to see," he said in his reply, "the whole of the educated people of India united by one common aim, striving for one common object demanding that priceless boon of self-Government, which no civilized Government can for ever deny to a civilized nation." He took the opportunity of his stay in India to reply to the resolution of the Government of India on its Land Revenue Policy. The enlightened Maharajah Gaekwar of Baroda, who had formed a high idea of his administrative capacity offered him the exalted post of Minister of Revenue in his State. The subsequent prosperity of Baroda and the fine reports recording it testified to the excellence of the Maharajah's choice. One of the chief changes introduced by him in the State (and subsequently under his advice and guidance into ;

Mysore State) was the separation of executive from the judicial function in its offices. Mr. Dutt had as early as 1893 suggested a scheme for the separation of these functions, the combination of which is so harmful to good government in India. His scheme won the hearty approval of that distinguished judicial authority Sir Richard Garth. "So far" the learned Chief Justice said "as I am capable of forming an opinion upon his scheme, I entirely approve of it. It seems to me the most natural and obvious means of separating the two great divisions of labour the executive and the judicial." It was also supported by lawyers and Judges of the highest eminence and greatest Indian experience in their memorial to the Secretary of State in 1899. The scheme was, in its substantial form, subsequently given effect to by the Secretary of State this year and its practical introduction into Bengal sanctioned.

In 1907 Mr. Dutt travelled widely, over Southern India visiting Mysore, Travancore and Cochin. He was everywhere enthusiastically received and he made several speeches of note during his entourage. One of these on the study of Indian History was delivered in Madras and produced a great impression. Mr. Dutt has taken besides a warm interest in the Industrial Conference ever since it started its work, presiding over it once and contributing valuable papers to it one of which is published in the annexure to this life. Mr. Dutt is a ready and fluent speaker and as a writer of simple and dignified prose is hardly equalled in India. His most remarkable trait:

whether as speaker or writer was his moderation which won the respect and admiration of his sternest adversaries. He believed in hard work, himself setting the example, in it. He had a keen sense of appreciation and was a man of practical good sense. His scheme for the separation of the executive and judicial functions has been adopted by Government. His scheme for the creation of advisory councils is under consideration and is a measure of great potentiality for good. His practical work on the Land Revenue side has lightened the ryots' burden. Lord Morley, than whom there is no better judge of men, appreciated his abilities when he appointed him a member of the Royal Commission that recently went through India. It is not too much to hope that his hand and head will be seen in the good that is expected from its labours.

Alas ! he passed away in fullness of satisfaction, of having served his country well.

SOCIAL PROGRESS IN INDIA

[Speech delivered at the Annual Meeting of the National Indian Association on March 25, 1901.]

Mr. Dutt said :—The Resolution which I have the honour to second has been explained by Sir Roper Lethbridge, and I have very little to add to what he has said, except that as an Indian myself I feel great pleasure in seconding it. The Resolution is for

making increased efforts in support of the Association's funds with the object of promoting female education in India. It is well-known—speaking at least for the part of India from which I come, and with which I am most familiar—that for the last thirty or forty years or more, a great deal has been done by the people of India themselves in the cause of social progress and of female education. A great deal has been done, not ostentatiously, but by quiet work at home, to help the cause of social progress; and anything like a lasting and abiding improvement in the country must be done in the future, as has been done in the past, by the people themselves. (Hear, hear.) I think many of the gentlemen present here, who have passed a great many years of their lives in India, like my friend Sir Charles Steevens who has moved the first Resolution, are familiar with the names of prominent Indian gentlemen who devoted their lives to the cause of education and social reform. I need only mention the names of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and Keshab Chandra Sen of Bengal, and of Justice Ranade of Bombay whose recent death has filled the people of India with sorrow. They were prominent men in India, who, in spite of various duties which they had to perform, devoted a great part of their time, to the cause of social progress and social reform, and were careful to adopt methods which were consistent with our Eastern life, because they knew that all reforms in order to be abiding, must be consistent with our Eastern Customs and life. (Hear, hear.) This is a

point ladies and gentlemen, which we should always remember—we who try to work in the cause of social reform. The people of India gratefully accept help from all true friends in the cause of reform; they avail themselves of the schools and teachers you provide; they benefit by your sympathy and your support; but nevertheless all abiding reforms must be worked out by themselves, consistently with the life they live. It is not desirable and it is not possible, to Europeanise Indian life (Applause.) The people of India are well able to judge for themselves what is best for themselves, and Indian life and Hindu life has always proved itself capable of assimilating what is the good for itself. It is because we have been able to assimilate all needful reforms from generation to generation and from age to age, that our ancient Hindu life still exists in India when so many phases of ancient life have passed away in other countries like Rome and Greece, like Persia, Egypt and Babylon. Therefore, Sir, our best helper and our truest friends are those who, while they offer us their help and their sympathy, can at the same time sympathise with Eastern life and Eastern institutions. And it is because this Association is trying to co-operate with our own endeavours, to help us where we are in need of help, to provide teachers and schools for the education of our wives, sisters, and daughters, that we gratefully accept its sympathy, its services, and its help and I have great pleasure, Sir, in seconding this Resolution, because the truest progress that we can

make and the truest line upon which we can make that progress, is the extension of female education in India. It is necessary that our women should be familiar with modern institutions, with modern knowledge, and with modern history; a sound education like this is needed to smooth the path of our future progress.

SPEECH AT MADRAS.

Delivered in the rooms of the Mahajana Sabha on February 4, 1902.

Gentlemen,—I received your telegram a few days ago at Colombo, kindly inviting me and my gifted fellow-passenger, Sister Nivedita to speak at a public meeting on our arrival at Madras. I felt an unspeakable joy that you should have thus accorded your hearty greetings to a lady who is now one of us, who lives our life, shares our joys and sorrows, partakes our trials and troubles, and labours with us in the cause of our Motherland. I also felt gratitude at the honour you had done me personally by giving me this welcome after my prolonged absence. At the same time, I will not conceal from you that your request filled me with grave misgivings. After a somewhat severe course of work in England I had looked forward to rest and cessation from labours on my return to India, and to a quiet life among those who are nearest and dearest to me. Nothing was farther from my mind than the idea of appearing before the

public during my stay in India ; and you will believe me when I tell you, that I opened your telegram at Colombo with some degree of terror. Nevertheless your invitation was so kind that it was difficult to decline : and when you added the worthy name of Sister Nivedita to mine in your telegram, you skilfully closed the gates behind me, and made a retreat on my part impossible. At the same time you also lightened my task : for in appearing before you on the platform to-day, I feel that I am like the door-keeper of the Sanskrit drama, who comes on the stage opens the palace door, introduces the princes and then retires. I will take care, therefore, not to detain you long ; for I am sure you will all be as anxious as I am to listen to her who follows me. She appears before you not as the partisan of any particular sect or creed, but as belonging to all India, cherishing a noble pride in India's past, labouring with a loving heart for India's past, labouring with a loving heart for India's future. Therefore, you will recognise, in her, as I recognise in her a beloved country-woman devoted to the cause of India, and you will listen to her, as I shall listen to her, as to a sister working for all of us in this her adopted country.

NO SIGN OF PROGRESS

Gentlemen, I cannot adequately express to you my feelings on an occasion like this when we meet after an absence of years. We have been divided by seas and oceans, but have not been divided in our aims and

endeavours. The same cause has enlisted our sympathies, and the same objects have inspired our efforts. Therefore, although I have been absent from you for five years except during the winter months of 1899—1900, my thoughts have been your thoughts, my endeavours have been your endeavours, and my aspirations have been your aspirations, all this time.

India has seen little change these five years. A century has ended and a new century has begun, but we have seen no sign of progress,—rather the reverse. There is no sadder chapter in the economic history of India than the story of these five years, commencing with the famine of 1897, and proceeding on to the famine which has not yet ended. Never in India's history were the mass of the people more resourceless, more crippled as manufacturers, more indebted as agriculturists. Never were greater misfortunes and deaths crowded together within so brief a space. Never did a civilised, fertile, and industrious country present a scene of more widespread poverty and desolation.

But, gentlemen, when we have narrated the story of famines and pestilence we have not told the whole story of our misfortunes during these five years. Unfortunately, the administration of these years has not made for progress. It is unnecessary for me on an occasion like this to recall to your minds those repressive acts of Government which have engaged your attention so long, and which are

still fresh in your memories. I doubt very much if there is any thoughtful and responsible man in India who can look back on these repressive measures to-day with gratification and pride. A feeling of sadness and of despair comes over us as we think of these measures. But, gentlemen, we should never yield to such despair. I, for one, have never believed, and will never believe in this dark future for India. The British Government, in spite of its occasional lapses into repressive and retrograde measures, cannot permanently accept a policy which is so fatal to the good of the people and so fatal to the Empire.

SELF-GOVERNMENT

More than this, the future of India depends on us and on us alone. I am old enough to be able to look back thirty or forty years, when a few solitary voices in a few remote places, disconnected with each other, asked for some feeble concessions for the people. I have lived to see the whole of the educated people of India united by one common aim, striving for one common object, demanding that priceless boon of Self-Government which no civilised Government can ever deny to a civilised nation. I have heard the same note sounded in Madras and in Bombay, in Calcutta and in Lucknow. I have seen the best, the foremost, the moderate and thoughtful men in India banded together to obtain for their countrymen a real share in the administration of their own concerns. You cannot travel in any part

or province of India, you cannot visit any town or village in India, where the engrossing idea of the most influential and best educated men is not the idea of progress and Self-Government. And this idea which pervades tens of thousands to-day is spreading to hundreds of thousands and to millions. Do you think this fact has no significance? Do you think that the spread of this feeling, this idea, this ambition, among the entire body of our educated men,—which has taken place within our own memory,—means nothing? Why, gentlemen, I see in this one fact the strongest promise for the future, the strongest guarantee for administrative reform and political advancement. It is this slow, silent, steady irresistible advance which makes nations, not particular acts of legislation or measures of administration. The most liberal acts would be useless and valueless and even hurtful if we had no strength, no faith, no capacity of progress. The most retrograde Acts will fail to impede us, if we have trust and faith in ourselves, if we are true to our country and our cause.

EXHORTATION TO HIS COUNTRYMEN

Therefore, my friends and countrymen, my first and last word to you is this: let us have faith in ourselves! our future depends on us; our fate is in our own hands; Our destiny rests on our labours! Do not, for one moment, despond, for despondency in such a cause is a sin. Do not be intemperate

and violent, for hysteria and shame are the signs of weakness, not of strength. Strong in our determination, calm in our conviction, let us speak temperately, clearly, and unmistakably, and let us work steadily, and silently swerving neither to the right nor to the left from the path of our duty to our country.

Gentlemen, we have candid friends who are always telling us that our agitation is useless and futile; that our activity does more harm than good; that our endeavours had better be abandoned. But the path which they thus point out to us is not the path of progress, but the path of death! The remedy which these physicians prescribe is that the patient in order to be cured should commit suicide! If you ever study the Economic History of India during the last 150 years, you will clearly comprehend how much we have lost in every way by our inactivity in the past. And if you have watched carefully the course of recent events, you will understand how much of our economic disasters at the present time is due to the exclusion of the people from all share in the management of their own concerns.

GOVERNMENT BY CO-OPERATION

There never has been nor there can be, any good Government in any great and civilised country without the help and the co-operation of the people themselves. And to advise us to refrain from all endeavours to secure self-government for India, is to perpetuate that economic

distress, and suffering misery which unhappily distinguishes India at the present day among all great and civilised country on earth. No, gentlemen, our duty demands it, the good of our country requires it, and the prosperity of British Rule depends on it, that we should have some real share in the administration of our own concerns.

OUR DESTINY IS IN OUR HANDS.

For myself, I would rather say that we should endeavour and fail, than not endeavour at all. It is national life to pursue great and worthy objects; it is national death to stand still and stagnate. But with us at the present moment, it is not a question of failure; it is a question of certain triumph in the end. We may be beaten back once and again; we may labour a whole life-time without attaining our end but rest assured, the endeavour will not be made in vain. Our sons will press forward when we sink in the struggle; the cause of the country will prosper when our ashes are cold; and before half a century is over, before a quarter of this new century is over, the people of India will have secured a real and valuable share in the administration of their own affairs,—like all the great and civilised nations of the earth. Let us have faith in ourselves, let us be true to ourselves, and our political place is assured, our destiny is in our own hands.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for the welcome you have accorded to us on our arrival in India. In the few words I have addressed to you, I have purposely refrained from alluding to the important resolution which the Government of India have recorded on the subject of the Indian land revenue. I feel greatly honoured by the reference which has been made to my humble work in this very important Resolution and the courtesy with which His Excellency's Government has dealt with my suggestions almost disarms criticism. The paper was placed in my hands only this morning, and I have not read even a tenth part of the resolution yet, and you will pardon me, therefore, if I am wholly unable on the present occasion to express any opinion on this most important subject. I shall conclude by reiterating my thanks to the Government of India for the earnest attention which they have bestowed on this subject which is all important in reference to the economic condition of the people of India.

THE SURAT INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE

AWAKENING FROM INDUSTRIAL SERFDOM

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is nearly six months ago, when I was still in England, enjoying a little rest from work, that I received your kind telegrams inviting me to preside at this Industrial Conference at Surat. I naturally felt a little hesitation before accepting the invi-

tation, as I knew the work and the many engagements which awaited me on my return to India. But I felt proud that you, my kind friends, had thought of me and chosen me during my absence from India : and as your work is one with which I had identified myself for years past, I accepted your kind invitation with cordial pleasure. And I need hardly add that I am present here to-day with the permission of His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda, an enlightened and patriotic prince, who heartily sympathises with all your endeavours towards Industrial progress, and fosters and helps such endeavours in his own State.

Gentlemen, Industrial Exhibitions and Conferences like this are held in all countries and among all progressive nations,—but the Exhibitions and Conferences which we have been holding in the past few years, have a peculiar significance. They indicate the slow awakening of a nation from industrial dependence and servitude and a determination to secure for ourselves our rightful place among the industrial nations of the earth. India has always been a great industrial country and in past times she was better known for the learning of her philosophers than for the skill of her artisans. Your historic town of Surat has played a prominent part in the industrial history of India during centuries and boasts of the early settlements of the European nations who came to trade in the East. But long before the rise of modern European nations, Western India was the scene of a busy trade with the greatest nations of the ancient times.

Long before the commencement of the Christian Era, the Phœnicians were,—what the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British have been in modern times,—the masters of the carrying trade of the world; and Phœnician merchants carried the rich products of India to the Courts of the Pharaohs, and of Solomon and David. Later on, Greek writers speak with unstinted admiration of the arts and industries of ancient India and in the centuries immediately succeeding the Christian Era, stately Roman galleys frequented the ports of India for her rich trade and her wonderful manufactures.

It is not necessary for me to-day to dwell on these well-known facts but there are some of them which are so interesting that they should be known to you all. The first record to which I will refer is called the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, a maritime guide book of the first century after Christ which describes the coast trade of India with a fullness of detail which leaves little to be desired. The emporium of Arabraike on the mouths of the Indus,—probably not far from modern Karachi,—exported sapphires, indigo, cottons and emeralds. Syrasrene or Saurashtra or modern South Kathiawar exported grains and cotton. And the port of Balygaza which is no other than Bharu Kacha or Broach exported precious stones and porcelain, cottons and silks, ivory and ebony, pepper and spices. Very few of you who frequent the crowded streets and the tortuous lanes of that still busy port care to recall the fact that nearly two thousand years ago, Broach was the

greatest port of Western India and that rich towns in the interior like Ujjain, Plithana and Tagra, poured their silks and cotton fabrics, their perfumes and precious stones into that busy port to feed the luxury of the Roman world. Railways were then not in existence; but bullock carts laden with cotton fabrics and silks, grains and spices went their slow way over country roads and cart tracks which converged from north, south, and east to the busy Bunder of Broach, where astute Alexandrian merchants waited in their ships to purchase the goods from Indian traders and to transport them to the west. Bombay was then still in the womb of futurity, but Kalliena or Kalyan near modern Bombay was a small port much infested by pirates. Passing over other ports we come to Cape Comorin and to Ceylon and thence our author takes us to Mysalia or modern Muslipatam known even in those times for its fine cloths. Lastly, reference is made to a great Gangetic mart, the trade of which, even two thousand years ago, consisted of those cotton fabrics of the most delicate texture and extreme beauty which were afterwards known as the muslins of Dacca. This Gangetic mart is located by some Antiquarians near modern Hooghly in Western Bengal, and by others near modern Dacca in Eastern Bengal. But, gentlemen, I do not wish to dwell on this controversy, or to create partition among the Antiquarians of Bengal. I now take leave of the *Periplus* and will only make a passing mention of Pliny whose famous natural History is a perfect encyclopædia of ancient knowledge on a variety of subjects.

He speaks of pepper and ginger which grew wild in India and of the diamonds and pearls, beryl and opal, onyx and jasper, amethyst and carbuncle, which were exported from India for the use of luxurious Roman dames and damsels.

GEOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE

Lastly we come to Ptolemy of the second century after Christ who raised geography to a science and he gives us a full and comprehensive account of Gangetic India, and of India beyond the Ganges. Most of his names are easily identified;—his Indrabara is Indraprasta or ancient Delhi, his Badura is Mathura, his Syrastrène is Saurastre or South Kathiawar, his Barygaza is Broach, his Ozene is Ujjain, his Palimbothra is Patna, and his Tamralipti is Tamlock. The capital of Bengal he calls Gangee.

EXTENSIVE COMMERCE

These brief references to the ancient times will suffice. It is only necessary to add in the long centuries succeeding the Christian Era Hindu ships laden with Indian goods, traded with Java and other islands, where the remains of Hindu temples and Hindu images are still to be found. In the West, the trade of India was carried on by successive nations; and after the decline of Alexandria, Constantinople, Venice, Portugal, Holland, and England, have been the

carriers of the rich manufactures of India to Europe causing the decline of Indian manufactures. From the ancient times to the present day the nations of the West have been enriched by the trade of the East.

It would be a needless waste of time to refer to-day to those causes which led to a decline and decay of Indian manufactures from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. The internal wars among contending nations in India was one principal cause; the commercial policy of England in those days was a second potent cause: and the discovery of power looms in England was a third. The fact is beyond doubt that, early in the nineteenth century, the industries and manufactures of India had reached their low-water mark; spinning and weaving and dyeing as well as working in metals and stone, which had given occupation to millions of our countrymen for ages past, had declined. It almost seemed at a time that agriculture would remain the only source of income for the nation beyond a few village industries of insignificant value and importance.

A NEW CHAPTER OF HISTORY IN OUR NATIONAL PROGRESS

Happily, gentlemen, we have now turned over a new leaf in the history of our national progress. Our industrious countrymen soon adopted the methods of industry, and competed with Western nations for the markets of India and of the East. Forty years

ago we had only 13 cotton mills in all India, the number is probably near 300 at the present day. We had less than 300,000 spindles in all India forty years ago, the number to-day is six millions. Our advance in the textile industry has been perhaps more rapid than in other industries, but a general movement is observable to-day all over India to revive old industries, to start new industries, and to give the people of India their ancient place among the industrial nations of the earth. Call it the *Swadeshi Movement*, or call it by any other name, but the cry has gone forth from one end of the country to the other, a cry which stimulates self-reliance and which is pregnant with the happiest results in the future.

Gentlemen, it has been well said that any true national progress must be simultaneous in all departments of national life, and those of us who have studied the popular movements in the different Provinces of India during the last half a century will have noticed that there is no department of our life which has not been influenced and permeated to some extent by the spirit of the times. In Literature the greatest writers in Bengal have lived and written within the last half a century, and the names of some of them have travelled beyond the limits of Bengal and of India. In Social Reforms, you in the West have had earnest workers, from the late lamented Mr. Ranade downwards, as we have had equally earnest workers in Bengal. In Religion, Hindus and Mahomedans alike have, within this period, derived new sources of inspiration from

their ancient Scriptures strengthening and refreshing and comforting our life on earth. In politics our great national aspirations are spreading and deepening from day to day and from year to year and are destined in the near future to secure to us those privileges of national Self-Government which are the birth-right of all civilised nations. And in industrial enterprises too, we have made an humble commencement, which, under the dispensations of Providence which helps those who help themselves will spread over the land and fructify.

It is some years now since the first Industrial Exhibition was held in connection with the Indian National Congress; and it is only a year ago that the first Industrial Conference was held at Benares, at which I had the honour to preside. From the beginning the Government of India and the Governments of the different Provinces have given us their hearty support and co-operation in these efforts to stimulate our industries; and we gratefully acknowledge that the attitude of the Government towards our industries at the present day is one of cordial sympathy. But, gentlemen, our future rests with us. There is no civilized and progressive nation in Europe or in America which has not secured its own place in the world's history by its own endeavours strenuous and persistent, in all departments of national life. The call now comes to us from Japan—aye from China too and other Eastern lands—and it is the same stirring call teaching us the great lesson of self-help and self-reliance.

As has happened again and again in the past

history of India, our women have cordially joined in the great work before us,—and both in Bengal and in Western India, the *Swadeshi Movement* is inspired and sustained by the patriotic endeavour of Indian women which will leave its mark in history. Men and women—we are all engaged in the same task which lies before us, and we have only made a small commencement. Parsees and Jains, Mahomedans and Hindus, let us all sink the petty jealousies and differences which divide us, let us all unite in a common endeavour in the present and a common faith in the future,—and our success in this great endeavour is assured.



H. H. The Maharajah of Mysore

H. H. SRI KRISHNARAJA WADIAR, G.C.S.I.

Maharaja of Mysore

The Feudatory State of Mysore claims the attention of every student of modern Indian political and administrative problems, both on account of the largeness of the territories comprised in it and the antiquity of the present ruling dynasty and the eventful changes which have preceded the present regime. Tradition carries back the history of Mysore to the dim regions of the pre-Christian era, when India was divided into a number of States under the dominion of Indian rulers. The present Maharaja traces his descent to Yaduraya who, in the fourteenth century, left Guzerat, his native place, and wandered to the south in quest of adventure. Fortune smiled upon him and he succeeded in winning the hand of the Princess of Mysore whom he had saved from a distasteful alliance with a petty chieftain in the neighbourhood. The descendants of Yadu spread abroad the martial fame of the family by the expansion of the State by conquests, and by their skill in diplomacy in the troubled times of Moghul supremacy averted many a catastrophe which would have extinguished the independence of the State. The

Mahomedans of Bijapore attempted an entrance into the kingdom by force of arms, but the intrepid military ardour of the then chief, Maharaja Kantarava Narasaraja Wadiar, stemmed the tide of invasion and delivered the State. When Aurangzeb occupied the throne of Hindustan, the Maharajah concluded a successful negotiation with him and secured his dominions from being absorbed in the viceroyalty of the South. It was in the eighteenth century, when India was swarming with political adventurers, both Eastern and Western, that Haidar Ali gained a foothold in the kingdom and ultimately seized the sceptre. Haidar and his son, Tippu, were dragged into the whirlpool of conflict with the British arms, and paid the penalty of weakness by the fall of Seringapatam and the extinction of Moslem rule in Mysore.

The authority of the old dynasty was restored by the accession of Maharaja Mummadi Krishnaraja Wadiar Bahadur to the throne under the able guardianship of Purniah. The energy and ability of Purniah guided the State with success till 1812, when he retired from office, the young Maharaja assuming the direction of affairs. The Maharaja did not come into a haven of peace, and he found very soon that he had rocks and shoals ahead, through which he would have to steer the bark of the State with the consummate wisdom of a veteran Statesman. Such wisdom was not his, and what with the liberality of his nature and the cupidity of his courtiers and the accumulated heritage of past

misrule, the murmurs of the subjects reached the ears of the Governor-General, who resolved in spite of the remonstrance of the Maharaja that his retirement was a necessity and that the administration should be carried on by a British Commissioner. In 1831, British Rule began and continued till 1881, for a period of fifty years during which the principles and methods of administration prevailing in British India were introduced into Mysore and the traces of ancient misrule were obliterated. Krishnaraja Wadiar however, did not despair but awaited his opportunity in the full hope that the authority would be transferred to his family. In this he was not disappointed. In 1865, His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wadiar adopted Chama Rajendra, and although the Government of India did not recognize the adoption in the beginning, he ultimately met with success. On the death of Krishnaraja Wadiar, a proclamation was issued which acknowledged the succession, and which held forth the hope that, in the event of Chama Rajendra proving himself well qualified to discharge the duties of his high office on attaining his majority, he should be fully invested with the powers of a ruling chief. On the 23rd September, during the auspicious festival of the Dussara, the installation of the young prince took place. In 1881 the Rendition was drawn which declared that "whereas the said Maharaja Chama Rajendra Wadiar Bahadur who has now attained the age of eighteen years, appears to the British Government well qualified for the position aforesaid, and is about to be entrusted with the

government of the said territories" he should be so entrusted, subject to certain well defined conditions. After a prosperous reign of thirteen years, the Maharaja died at Calcutta on the 28th December 1894, from a severe affection in his throat. In the words of Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, who was then the Dewan, "the administrative policy of His Highness's reign was one of progressive decentralization."

The reigning ruler of Mysore was born on the 4th June 1884, and is the eldest son of the late Maharaja. In 1895 he ascended the Gadi of his ancestors, and during his minority, the administration was in the hands of Her Highness the Maharani Vani Vilasa Sannidhana, C. I., with the help of a Dewan and three counsellors. In 1905 His Highness assumed the reins of administration. Lord Curzon paid a high compliment on the occasion and congratulated His Highness. "He has studied the wants and needs of the people at first hand. He has thereby acquired the knowledge which will enable him to understand the problems with which he will be confronted. Fortified by this knowledge, his naturally business-like habits and introductive self-reliance should enable him to steer a straight course ** Youth is his health and strength. He enters upon a splendid heritage at an early age. May God guide him in his undertaking and speed him on the straight path."

In 1882, His Highness was united with Pratap Kumari Bayi, a Princess of the Royal House of Kathiawar. In 1907 he went to Calcutta and was a guest of the Viceroy. While there, he graced by his

presence the Industrial Exhibition held in connection with the Indian National Congress. While the Viceroy was at Agra, receiving the Amir of Afghanistan, he was invested with the Grand Commander of the Star of India; and throughout Mysore the occasion was marked by grand demonstrations of joy and enthusiasm.

The early training of His Highness was entrusted to the able guidance of Mr. P. Raghavendra Rao, B.A., B.L. He was also for sometime one of a select few who were brought together for the purpose of education and training. The Maharaja in his youth exhibited high powers of application, and distinguished himself by his manliness and modesty of deportment. In addition to his intellectual accomplishments, he also unites the powers of a good musician and the ardour of a keen sportsman. On the death of his father, Mr. Andrew Fraser, C.I.E., I.C.S. (then the Resident in Mysore) began to superintend his education and fit him for the responsibilities of the august office which he was called upon to undertake. His Highness has fulfilled the most sanguine expectations that were formed of him; and he is loved and revered by his subjects, not only because he is the ruler of a great State but he loves them truly and is greatly interested in the real welfare of the five millions and more of subjects entrusted to his care. Deeply religious, although not disdaining Western culture, he devotes a considerable time to devotional exercises. He is full of sympathy with every public and charitable institution, and manifests

his interest by munificent donations. He enjoys the qualities that are deemed indispensable in a ruler, qualities inherited from nature and cultivated by training. His Highness's reign is memorable by the inauguration of several beneficent reforms and his solicitude for the prosperity of his subjects has been shown in measures which are intended for the amelioration of the agricultural classes which form the back-bone of the population. The most noticeable of these changes are the extension of primary education, the introduction of technical education, the establishment of co-operative credit societies, the abolition of the Halat or duty on arecanut, and others which have contributed to the consolidation of the feelings of love and loyalty which His Highness's subjects cherish towards him.

The Mysore Representative Assembly that was devised and brought into existence has proved itself a considerable success in bringing the executive officials into contact with the people, and thereby bridging the gulf of ignorance and separateness between them. Now and again, Dewans have been prone to curb the new spirits of enquiry and discussion in the members of the assembly by curt and unsatisfactory replies; but in spite of these inevitable defects the Assembly has gone on increasing in strength and influence. As His Highness hoped it has proved a "valuable adjunct to the administration, and in course of time will take its place among the chief political institutions of the land, remarkable for its spirit of independence and its sobriety." His Highness has also sanctioned

the institution of a Legislative Council which will render valuable services in the future. The elective system has been introduced and will receive later on an additional strength from the operation of the same principle in other parts of India.

It is not possible to forecast the future of any state, for, the future is open only to the vision of the Almighty; but so long as Mysore enjoys a succession of sovereigns of the character of the present Maharaja, so long will it remain one of the most flourishing States in India, continue to grow in importance and vigour till in the fulness of time she may be destined to attain to some thing greater and nobler than is the condition to-day.

THE MADRAS INDUSTRIAL AND ARTS EXHIBITION

Speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore

It was not without diffidence that I accepted the invitation, so courteously extended to me by the Committee, to open the Madras Industrial and Arts Exhibition. I could not but feel that there were many others more obviously qualified for the duty, whether as captains of industry, administrators of experience, or as spokesmen of public opinion. But, as it was evident that the Committee were not in search of instruction from an expert, I could not but conclude that they desired the sympathy of a representative of my class.

or of the head of a State which may claim a substantial interest, not only in the indigenous arts and crafts, but also in the more progressive enterprises of Western origin. Of my official sympathy I had already been able to give expression, when sanctioning the proposal of my Dewan and Council, to send a representative collection of objects of Mysore Art and Industry to the Exhibition and, in view of the considerations to which I have referred, I felt that I could not decline the opportunity of evincing my personal interest by taking part in to-day's ceremony.

In some quarters doubts have, I believe, been expressed of the utility of exhibitions such as this. In early days extravagant expectations were formed of their possibilities, and the great London Exhibition of 1851 was at the time, supposed to have inaugurated the millennium. The 50 years or so that have elapsed since then have not witnessed the realisation of this pleasing vision, nor have the "World's Fairs" of Europe and the West always fulfilled the expectations of their promoters, in immediate and startling expansions of trade and industries, in general or particular. Our exhibition here, however, is on a more modest scale and our expectations of its results are modest in proportion.

In these days of keen competition much is heard in all parts of the Empire of what pessimists term the decadence of British trade and industries, which others prefer to regard as the legitimate and natural advance of foreign rivals in the market of the world.

Whatever the correct description of the trouble, the symptoms are beyond question and everywhere the need of increased commercial and industrial activity is proclaimed and acknowledged. Here, in India, the problem is peculiar. Our trade tends steadily to expand, and it is possible, as we know from the Parliamentary reports, to demonstrate by statistics, the increasing prosperity of the country generally. On the other hand, we, in India, know that the ancient indigenous handicrafts are decaying, that the fabrics for which India was renowned in the past are supplanted by the products of Western looms and that our industries are not displaying that renewed vitality, which will enable them to compete successfully in the home or the foreign market. The cultivator on the margin of subsistence remains a starveling cultivator, the educated man seeks Government employment, or the readily available profession of a lawyer whilst the belated artisan works on the lines marked out for him by his forefathers, for a return that barely keeps body and soul together.

It is said that India is dependent on agriculture and must always remain so. That may be so, but there can, I venture to think, be little doubt that the solution of the ever recurring famine problem, is to be found, not merely in the improvement of agriculture, the cheapening of loans, or the more equitable distribution of taxation, but still more, in the removal from the land to industrial pursuits of a great portion of those, who, at the best, gain but a miserable subsistence and on the

slightest failure of the season are thrown on public charity. It is time for us in India to be up and doing; new markets must be found, new methods adopted and new handicrafts developed, whilst the educated unemployed no less than the skilled and unskilled labourer, all those, in fact, whose precarious means of livelihood is a standing menace to the well-being of the State, must find employment in reorganised and progressive industries. That educated opinion is awakening to the situation, this Exhibition I take to be a proof. The cry for commercial and industrial education increases, and in this education such exhibitions are an important feature.

The subject of industrial education has many prophets, there must be many in the present assembly who are eminently qualified to discuss it, of whom I cannot claim to be one and I do not propose to inflict on you, at any length such views as I may have been tempted to form. Some attention has, however, been paid to the subject in Mysore and it has only brought into prominence the great difficulties which must be faced before positive results can be achieved. Possibly our experience is not without its parallels, even in Madras. But that, to my mind is no reason for discouragement. The old saying that the man who never made a mistake never made anything holds good pre-eminently in matters industrial. The time and trouble devoted to experiment have not been wasted and it is reasonable to hope that all over India the Governments are profiting by past failure

and are gradually directing such instruction as they are able to afford, on to sounder and better lines. The prime essential is that the instructor should know more about the industry than those whom he undertakes to teach, a condition that has by no means invariably been fulfilled. Our object is, I take it, to find new callings for those whose hereditary employment from various causes, no longer provides a livelihood and increased efficiency for those whose wares are still in demand, but at prices which do not remunerate the craftsman. At present in too many cases, a boy attracted by a scholarship spends some years in an industrial school, and on leaving has no idea beyond returning to the ancestral calling clerical or menial or to the hereditary tools and methods. So long as this state of thing prevails, we have advanced but little on the road to success. It seems to me, that what we want is, more outside light and assistance from those interested in industries. Our schools should not be left entirely to officials, who are either fully occupied with their other duties or whose ideas are prone, in the nature of things, to run in official grooves. I should like to see all those who "think" and "know" giving us their active assistance, and not merely their criticism of our results. It is not, Government or forms of Government that have made the great industrial nations, but the spirit of the people and the energy of one and all working to a common end.

To return to the exhibition, the object of industrial exhibitions is, I conceive, to convey the public

evidence of the condition and progress of local industries and to suggest to those interested latent possibilities of improvement. Madras may claim to be a peculiarly suitable locality for such an exhibition. Not only is the Presidency noted for the excellence of its handwoven goods, for the skilfulness of its metal works and for its pre-eminence in the leather tanning industry but the City of Madras has also seen the birth of a completely new industry, which promises to be a source of no little profit in the future. When the trade of copper and brass workers was threatened by an import of cheap and suitable aluminium vessels, Madras set itself to work and with the assistance of Government developed, by the skill of its artisans, a local industry in aluminium goods which has now advanced well beyond the experimental stage. The development of the Madras aluminium industry affords a lesson of unrivalled import and is a hopeful augury for the future of industrial India.

The systematic examination of the great Indian handicrafts for the purpose of introducing improvements which may form the basis of industrial training, has yet to be undertaken. The necessity for it has attracted attention in many parts of India. In the Bombay Presidency an expert in weaving has made important improvements in the warping and weaving of cotton goods on the indigenous loom. In Bengal and elsewhere systematic attempts are being made to disseminate a knowledge of the use of the fly-shuttle, which as I am informed has

been quietly at work here in Madras City, for many years, unknown to the rest of India. In Bangalore, a small factory equipped and maintained by my friend, Mr. Tata, is steadily improving the process of silk-reeling. Numerous other examples might no doubt be cited, but much, very much remains to be done in the matter, which is so vital a one for India. Now that the country forms one market with the great industrial countries of the world, her citizens must not sit idly by, awaiting the interference of the Governments in what is equally the business of the people. Combination and enterprise are needed. The handicrafts of India have been celebrated since time immemorial, the hereditary aptitude of her artisans survives, waiting but to be utilised in the light of modern knowledge. An exhibition such as this will have been of small purpose if it fails to suggest new methods for developing the skill of the workers new field for their employment, and new markets for their products. Let us hope that the successful experiment which has secured for India the manufacture of aluminium goods may be the forerunner of more far-reaching developments in many other handicrafts. May this exhibition serve as a stimulus to public-spirited men to set on foot similar enterprises so that by combination, investigation and experiment, the way may be cleared for a progress, of which the exhibitions of the future will illustrate the happy results.

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God of love; and to the philosopher it is the one union of *all* existence. This is what is meant by *Yoga*. This is a Sanskrit term, and these four divisions of our *Yoga* have in Sanskrit different names. The man who seeks after this kind of union is called a *Yogin*. The worker is called the *Karma Yogin*. He who seeks the union through love is called the *Bhakti Yogin*. He who seeks it through mysticism is called the *Raja-Yogin*. And he who seeks it through philosophy is called the *Gnana-Yogin*. So this word *Yogin* comprises them all.

Now first of all let me take up *Raja-Yoga*. What is this *Raja-Yoga*, this controlling of the mind? In this country you are associating all sorts of hobgoblins with the word *Yoga*. I am afraid, therefore, I must start by telling you that it has nothing to do with such things. No one of these *Yogas* gives up reason, no one of them asks you to deliver your reason, hoodwinked into the hands of priests of any type whatever. No one of them asks you to give your allegiance to any superhuman messenger. Each one of them tells you to *cling* to your reason, to hold fast to reason. We find in all beings three sorts of instruments of knowledge. The first is instinct, which you find most highly developed in animals, and to some degree in man also—this is the lowest instrument of knowledge. What is the second instrument of knowledge? Reasoning. You find that most highly developed in men. Now in the first place instinct is an inadequate instrument of animals; the sphere of the

action is very limited, and within that limit instinct acts. When you come to man, you see it in him largely developed into reason. The sphere of action also has here become enlarged. Yet even reason is still very insufficient. Reason can go only a little way and then it stops. There, it tells us that it cannot go any further and if you try to push it further, the result is helpless confusion, reason itself becomes unreasonable. The whole of logic then becomes an argument in a circle. Take for instance the very basis of our perception, matter and force. What is matter? That which is acted upon by force. And force? That which acts upon matter. You see the complication, what the logicians call see-saw, one idea depending on the other, and this again depending on that. You find a mighty barrier before reason, beyond which reasoning cannot go; yet it always feels impatient to get into the region of the infinite beyond. This world of ours, this universe which our senses feel, or our minds think of is but one bit so to say of the infinite, projected into the plane of consciousness; and within that narrow limit, which has been defined by the net-work of consciousness, works our reason and not beyond. Therefore there must be some other instrument to take us beyond and that instrument is called inspiration. So instinct, reason and inspiration are the three instruments of knowledge. Instinct belongs to animals, reason to men, and inspiration to Godmen. But in all human beings are to be found in a more or less developed condition the germs of all these three instruments.